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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report



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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

#### MULTINATIONALS PREPARE FOR OIL SEARCH IN EAST AFRICA

HK030246 Hong Kong AFP in English 0148 GMT 3 May 85

[Article by Michael Andres]

[Text] Dar es Salaam, May 3 (AFP)--Multinational companies are gearing up to spend tens of millions of dollars in a search for oil in the hitherto little-explored East African region, in what is hoped could turn into a New Bonanza.

From Zaire to Sudan through Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya to Somalia and down to Mozambique and Madagascar, the quest is hotting up and hopes are high on the part of the companies and governments concerned of a big strike.

The last few months have seen a rush of interest by major oil companies to snap up new areas offered for exploration by the governments of the region, which are anxious to reduce their dependency on highly costly oil imports.

Interest had earlier centred on the continental shelf of the East African Indian Ocean seaboard, which would typically offer hydrocarbon-bearing potential as with "offshore" operations elsewhere in the world, informed sources said.

Work has and is being done offshore, and there have been gas finds, notably one at Songo-Songo Island near Kilwa, Tanzania, which is believed to be commercially exploitable and could feed a planned giant fertilizer plant.

On Madagascar the Amoco Company is currently engaged in a major exploratory drilling programme.

But experts note that it is the near-virgin territory inland to which the multinationals have latterly been drawn, as indicated by the number of exploration agreements recently entered into and currently being negotiated on lucrative terms for the host governments.

This development has followed recent revision in countries such as Kenya and Tanzania of the legislation covering oil and gas exploration and production, which has been part of government efforts to attract companies interested in exploration.

Kenya and Tanzania have also, for example, both very successfully carried out their own independent preliminary geological research for marketing to oil companies or have had specialised companies contract to do this for them, informed sources said.

In Tanzania alone Amoco paid 2.5 million dollars for geological information provided by the State Petroleum Development Corporation, and at the beginning of last month signed for rights to 100,000 square kilometres (40,000 square miles) of unexplored territory in the centre and south of the country, at an annual cost of two dollars per square kilometre.

Amoco, which appears to be leading the rush in the region, is understood also to have signed a deal with Burundi to explore an area at the northern tip of Lake Tanganyika, and to be interested in the Zairean and Tanzanian sectors of the lake.

In Kenya, 14 different companies bought 18 copies of a report on geological data about the northwest and the northeast of the country at a cost of 40,000 dollars each. There too, Amoco is leading the field, being the first to snap up areas on offer, plumping for the Turkana area in the northwest toward Sudan.

Petro-Canada is to explore on behalf of the Kenyan government in the northeast up to Somalia, and other oil companies, including France's elf-Aquitaine and CFP-TOTAL, and Exxon, Texaco, Mobil of the United States, and others, have reportedly expressed an interest in other areas.

The new hopes are based on the theory that the Rift Valley geological formation running from Ethiopia down through Kenya and Tanzania and responsible for the formation of the great lakes has hydrocarbon potential, expert sources said. They are also linked to the major oil finds made by Chevron in southern Sudan.

But oil exploration experts stress that little is yet really known about the geology of the region from this point of view, as too little work has taken place yet.

Oil companies can spend many months surveying and analysing data before drilling a "wildcat" or first exploratory well that will cost millions of dollars--and likely as not still prove dry.

The logistics involved in setting up an exploration site and bringing in a drilling rig and all the associated back-up are also formidable and make such ventures very costly, the experts point out.

"So it's a risky and expensive business," said the exploration director of one corporation active in the region. "But the rewards are great."

ANGOLA

#### SWEDISH AID TO FISHING INDUSTRY INCREASES

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Mar 85 p 3

[Text] The aid to Angola by the Swedish International Development Fund (SIDA) within the framework of the cooperation agreement in the area of fisheries signed in 1979 between Angola and Sweden is valued at about 30 million kronor.

This information was revealed to the Angolan Press Agency (ANGOP) Thursday by the director of the International Exchange Office of the Ministry of Fisheries, Sebastiao Makiadi Lopes, responsible for the Angolan side of the agreement with SIDA. According to this source, the agreement pertains to craft-scale fishing, the training of Angolan cadres and fisheries research for the protection of Angolan biological resources.

With regard to craft-scale fishing, Sebastiao Makiadi said that SIDA has already supplied the Ministry of Fisheries with 30 small boats and 19 others are expected to arrive.

The fisheries official emphasized that another coastwise support vessel and Swedish boat repair technicians may arrive in Angola shortly.

At the same time, he said that fishery research difficulties have been minimized with the modernization by SIDA of the vessel "Goa," designed for the collection of ocean data, temperature and the evaluation of species.

The vessel had remained damaged in Lobito for a long time and its reconditioning in Sweden cost SIDA about 10 million Swedish kronor. Sweden sent a three-man crew to Angola for that scientific vessel. Makiadi revealed also that Angola is going to purchase two other small scientific vessels and material for a laboratory that the Ministry of Fisheries wants to build in Luanda.

In the area of the training of cadres, a center called Cefopescas has been built in Cacuaco to train middle-level technicians, including ship electricians and engine, cooling and telecommunications technicians. The center was opened in 1982 with 150 students, five of whom are natives of Sao Tome.

SIDA aided the center with teaching personnel and three schoolships, and built a floating dock and an inclined plane for alongside docking and repair of boats. According to Sebastiao Makiadi, "this grant project makes it possible to assess the reality of the cooperation." The technicians of both countries meet annually to assess and program the activities of the following year.

The agreement is for 3 years (1985-88) with prospects of extension up to 10 years, declared Makiadi. Cooperation in the area of craft-level fishing extends to Ambriz, Luanda, Barra do Dande and Cabinda, and may even reach Kwanza-Sul.

Bengo Fish Distribution

ANGOP learned from a reliable source that 345 tons of frozen fish were recently distributed to consumers of Bengo Province by the provincial delegation of the Ministry of Fisheries.

According to the same source, the lack of manpower and equipment is hampering the distribution of this product in the provincial capital as well as the municipalities. The delegation of the Ministry of Fisheries in Bengo intends to institute new methods of control and sale of fish to the population of Bengo Province as a reans of overcoming that situation.

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CSO: 3442/245

ANGOLA

#### BRIEFS

UNITA ATTACKS LUNDA CONVOY--UNITA forces killed 28 MPLA soldiers, burned 1 Soviet-built armored car, destroyed 11 Star trucks and captured 2 14.5 mm anti-aircraft guns, 2 B-10 cannons, and 144,830 kwanzas, when they attacked a FAPLA convoy 65 km south of Saurimo in Lunda Province. [Text] [MB030934 (Clandestine) KUP in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 3 May 85]

UNITA KILLS 43 MPLA-UNITA forces killed 43 MPLA soldiers and captured another 5 as well as 57 weapons, shells, and ammunition, when they overran the Chila post in Benguela Province, which was being defended by 2 battalions. Among the captured were two officers. There were no UNITA casualties. [Text] [MB030930 (Clandestine) KUP in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 3 May 85]

68 MPLA SOLDIERS KILLED--Free Land of Angola, 2 May (KUP)--A total of 68 MPLA soldiers were killed during a road ambush. The UNITA armed forces violently and successfully attacked the 36th MPLA Brigade as it traveled from Longa to Menongue, 12 km away from Menongue, the capital of Cuando Cubango Province. This was announced in a UNITA war communique issued today. According to this communique, the UNITA forces captured large quantities of war material during the attack, including three 82 mm mortars, two BTR's, five RPG-7's, and large quantities of weapons and ammunition. A total of 11 vehicles full of war material and food supplies were destroyed. [Text] [MBO21348 (Clandestine) KUP in French to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 2 May 85]

OFFICIAL DELIVERS DOS SANTOS MESSAGE--Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, has sent a formal message to Chadli Bendjedid, secretary general of the National Liberation Front [FLN] and president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. The message was handed over by Andre Pitra, secretary of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee for the production sector, who visited Algeria at the invitation of the FLN. Andre Pitra's contacts centered on increasing cooperation between Algeria and the People's Republic of Angola in the political, economic and cultural fields. [Text] [MB051236 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 5 May 85]

GOODS CONFISCATION FROM ZAMBIA POACHERS--Free Land of Angola, 7 May (KUP)--A huge amount of ivory, dried meat and bundles of fish worth thousands of dollars have been confiscated by UNITA police from illegal Zambian poachers who tried

to sneak through the wide Angola-Zambia border. This was disclosed by the immigration and border control office last Sunday. The immigration spokesman said that most of the culprits were businessmen and peasants living along the border and Angolans living in Zambia who are often used by businessmen who pay them in money or clothes. UNITA has set up immigration posts along the border and people from both sides of the border who wish to visit their relatives are issued with valid visas and may stay up to 2 weeks. The colonial border partition has divided communities as well as entire families. Despite the fact that the culprits were caught in possession of firearms at the time of their capture and had avoided established immigration posts, they were not harassed. They were simply handed over to the Zambian authorities. We want to have normal relations with our neighbors, the immigration spokesman added. Angolan-Zambian border has been fully controlled by UNITA since early last year. [Text] [MB071354 (Clandestine) KUP in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 7 May 85]

NEW ENVOY TO PORTUGAL -- Mwaete Joao Baptista, the new ambassador of the People's Republic of Angola in Portugal, who arrived in Lisbon yesterday, said at Portela Airport in the Portuguese capital that he was bearing a message of peace, understanding, and progress from the Angolan people to the Portuguese people. Addressing the Portuguese press, the Angolan diplomat said that it was the responsibility of the Portuguese authorities to work toward promoting such relations with Angola, for, as he stated, the Angolan people have a historic mission and they want to accomplish it in the interest of both countries. His opinion, which reflects the view of the People's Republic of Angola, is that the Angolan and Portuguese peoples will be able to work together with a view to making cooperation between the two states advantageous. Mwaete Joao Baptista, who was recently appointed by the president of the republic to the post of Angolan ambassador to Portugal, replaced diplomat Fernando Franca Van Dunem, who has been summoned to Luanda to fill the post of deputy external relations minister. Before being appointed ambassador to Portugal, Mwaete Joao Baptista represented the People's Republic of Angola in Algeria and later in The credentials now accrediting him as Angolan representhe Republic of Cuba. tative to the Portuguese government will be presented shortly in Lisbon to General Ramalho Eanes, president of the Portuguese Republic. [Text] [MB021504 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 2 May 85]

BPV MEMBERSHIP INCREASES—Chitato—The people of Lunda—Norte Province continue to join the Popular Vigilance Brigades (BPV's), thus fulfilling the objectives of defending the gains achieved. In Dundo, an awareness—raising meeting of the workers of the Angolan Diamond Company (DIAMANG) and the people who live in the vicinity of this city was held recently with a view to their joining the BPV's. The awareness meeting was directed by the provincial coordinator of the BPV's Jose Cipriano, and was attended by the municipal commissar of Chitato and the administrator of DIAMANG, Jose Franco and Ambrosio Makenda, respectively. [Excerpt] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Mar 85 p 3] 8711

WW II COMMEMORATION--Moscow, 9 May, (ANGOP)--TASS announces that an Angolan delegation led by Francisco Magalhaes Paiva Nvunda, deputy defense minister and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party, is currently in Moscow where it will attend the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of victory over Hitlerite fascism. [Text] [Luanda ANGOP in French 1030 GMT 9 May 85 MB]

MUBARAK MESSAGE TO DOS SANTOS--Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, received a message from Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian head of state, in Luanda yesterday. The message was handed over by Nabil al-Salawi, the Egyptian ambassador accredited to Angola, who during the audience recalled the good relations existing between the two countries. [Text] [Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 28 Apr 85 MB]

80 GOVERNMENT TROOPS KILLED IN CUANZA--Lisbon, 5 May (IFE)--The antigovernment National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) announced the death of 80 government troops in operations carried out in the 2 Cuanza provinces. According to a communique released today in Lisbon, UNITA claimed credit for an attack on Ambuiva in the central province of South Cuanza in which 49 militarymen were killed and an Angolan first lieutenant and a noncommissioned officer were taken prisoner. According to UNITA, in an attack on a supply column near Luinga in the province of North Cuanza 9 vehicles were destroyed and 31 regular troops were killed. Jonas Savimbi's movement also claimed credit for downing a government helicopter in the eastern province of Lunda. [Text] [PA051521 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1328 GMT 5 May 85]

BOTSWANA

#### BRIEFS

REFUSAL TO SWANU GROUP--The secretary of the Botswana department of foreign affairs, Mr G. G. Garibowano, says he has no knowledge of the refusal by his government to allow a delegation of the South-West Africa National Union [SWANU] to visit Botswana. The president of SWANU, Mr Moses Katjiuongua, criticized the Botswana Government at a news conference in Windhoek, South-West Africa/Namibia, on Thursday because a delegation of his party had been refused permission to visit Botswana last week. Mr Garibowano told Radio RSA's correspondent in Windhoek by telephone that while he did not have all the facts, the problem was probably caused by administrative problems at the border post. [Text] [Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 4 May 85 MB]

CHAD

#### BRIEFS

BARDAI DISPUTES DEFECTION—Following the recent visit to Lagos by the leader of the Ndjamena clique, imperialist and reactionary media have found a new topic to talk about: the so-called defection of certain Chadian Peoples' Union for Reconstruction which is based in Nigeria. What is striking is that this so-called political faction has never been heard of until its defection. The fact is that the Chadian Peoples' Union for Reconstruction is only a postiche serving imperialist interests. The fact is that this movement is an integral part of a terrorist network maintained by the FAN in Nigeria. Once their mission is completed, members of this group have been recalled to Ndjamena in order to be given other assignments. If a certain press is speaking so much about this group, it is only to revamp the tarnished image of the Ndjamena clique.

[Text] [ABO61149 (Clandestine) Bardai Chadian National Radio in French 1800 GMT 5 May 85]

GHANA

#### AIRSTRIPS TO BE REHABILITATED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 1 Apr 85 p 1

[Article by Debrah Flynn]

[Text] Airstrips scattered all over the country are to be rehabilitated to serve their original purpose of facilitating the movement of people and goods between the north and south of the country.

Feasibility studies on how best to accomplish this objective will be conducted from 10 April to 10 May, this year.

Some of the airstrips to be rehabilitated include those sited at Axim, Kete-Krachi, Wa and Navrongo but which after their construction, have not been operating.

Mr Kwame Peprah, secretary of transport and communications, dropped this hint at Wa last Friday after inspecting the Wa airstrip with some officials of the Ghana Highway Authority (GHA), the Airforce, Ghana Airways Corporation, the Civil Aviation Department and the Ministry of Works and Housing.

Mr Peprah stated that the rehabilitation of the existing airstrips would enable both the Ghana Airways and the Airforce to shuttle between those areas to cut down on the transportation problem facing the country.

He said the ministry, under the programme, will mobilise local resources both manually and financially for the exercise.

The secretary, therefore, called on local contractors in the areas earmarked to offer the needed support by releasing their machinery for the success of the exercise.

Mr Joseph Yieleh Chireh, upper west regional Secretary, who received the entourage gave the assurance that the people of Wa would offer every support in the exercise and called on the ministry to do everything within its means to ensure the success of the programme.

Also present was Mr Steve Akuffo, under-secretary for works and housing.

**GHANA** 

#### BRIEFS

TRUNK ROAD TO BE REHABILITATED -- The government is negotiating with the Italian and Japanese governments for assistance for the rehabilitation of the Cape Coast-Yamoransa and Kumasi trunk road to facilitate the movement of exports through the Takoradi harbor. This was announced by the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] coordinating secretary, Mr P. V. Obeng, at the inauguration of a cultural group of the Tema branch of the Adanse Knoye Kuo at Tema. He (?added) that if the road plays an important role in the economic development of the nation this is because it serves as the main link between the northwestern and southwestern parts of the country in the exportation of timber, cocoa, and other products. Mr Obeng said now that the road is almost unmotorable, the nation has to bear extra cost in diverting products meant for exports through Accra to Takoradi. He commended the people of Adanse for their decision to help with the rehabilitation of the portion of the trunk road in the Adanse District. Mr Obeng assured them that the health post in the district will be upgraded pending the completion of the government hospital at Fomena. [Text] [Accra Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 6 May 85 AB]

GUINEA

MASS RETURN OF REFUGEES CREATES PROBLEMS

Dakar AFRIQUE NOUVELLE in French 27 Mar-2 Apr 85 pp 6-7

[Article by Lucien Houédanou in collaboration with Charles Lemaire: "The Return of the Refugees"]

[Text] As soon as Sékou Touré's dictatorship fell, many Guineans, who until then had taken refuge abroad, hastened to return to their homeland. This is not without problems for either them or the government. The time will come when the HCR will decide to release from its tutelage those refugees it is already helping and they are alarmed by the uncertainty of the prospects of reintegration, for there is no specific organization to take up the relay for aiding former refugees.

The number of Guineans living abroad has been estimated at 2.5 million. Most of them left to escape the mass arrests resulting from the many "plots" invented by the dictator, Sékou Touré; they wanted to escape the climate of terror and insecurity which, for 26 years running, had typified the life of their country.

It is therefore easy to understand that, wanting to break with a style of power which died with Sékou Touré on 26 March 1984, the CMRN (Military Committee of National Recovery) military created, among other things, a ministry in charge of Guineans abroad. It is also easy to understand that, for nothing more than checking out the new regime and making contact once again with a country which they had not left willingly, Guineans of the diaspora began returning in mass, temporarily or definitely, to their native land. Anyone flying into Conakry over these past few months could notice this large influx of people. The latest statistics released by the Guinean officials to the HCR (High Commissariat for Refugees) Regional Delegation for West Africa set forth at 200,000 to 300,000 the number of Guineans who have returned since 3 April 1984.

Although the new authorities have declared their willingness to take back all their brothers of the diaspora, they nonetheless pointed out that the lack of infrastructures and financial resources would make it extremely difficult, for the time being, to reintegrate too large a number of repatriates. This is the reason why the Guinean authorities have asked the HCR to assist with the reintegration of those returning to their homeland. To that end, the HCR has

initiated an emergency aid project for 100,000 Guinean repatriates that was to end in January 1985 but was extended to next April. This aid involves mainly medicines, seeds, farm tools, etc. The HCR is also looking into ways to reintegrate Guinean cadres trained abroad. There are other projects congruent with those of the Second International Conference of Aid to African Refugees (CIARA II) and dealing with education, agriculture, livestock breeding and health.

At the same time, however, "Guinean refugees in Senegal" have submitted a "plea": In a document published on 20 March, they accused the HCR Regional Delegation of having "arbitrarily and unilaterally called off the contract" it had with them. According to this document, the Regional Delegation wants to force the refugees to whom it gave assistance to return to Guinea whereas the HCR texts specify that an individual must return of "his own free will." Challenging the action of the Regional Delegation, these refugees regard as "fictitious" the figure of '00,000 repatriated Guineans to whom the HCR claims to have given assistance.

#### Detailed Explanations

Speaking on his own, one of their officials pointed out that the HCR Regional Delegation was mistaken when it determined that the refugees had lost their status as soon as the political regime changed and they no longer could benefit from HCR aid. He continued: "As for me, who was detained for 7 years in Camp Boiro, I know that the same people who helped the torturers in the "technical room" can now be found in the government; I therefore feel that it is not safe to return to Guinea."

Officials of the Regional Delegation claim to be "shocked" by these statements which "represent a request for assistance, an act of mendicacy which implicates some of the employees of the Delegation by naming them." One of them commented further: "It involves an act of pure and simple bad faith stemming from a distortion of our 2 February 1985 discussions with Guineans students and of the most basic regulations governing our organization." So much for overall criticism. Let us now look into the detailed explanations.

The people involved were considered refugees by the Regional Delegation as long as, for a very specific reason, namely, their country was under a dictatorship, they could not go back home or, once abroad, they could not seek the protection of their country's official representatives. Following the 3 April coup, however, the HCR Regional Delegation based on three factors its determination of whether those who benefited from its assistance could still be considered refugees.

The first factor was the statements from the new authorities who had declared that all Guineans residing abroad could return home. The second was the conduct of the interested parties, some of whom at least either went to Guinea or got in touch with the embassies in order to receive official documents or met with members of the new government coming through Dakar. The third was the missions carried out in Guinea by officials of the Regional Delegation for the purpose of verifying if the political climate which had forced people to leave had changed. A HCR official told us: "In the course of my two missions

in Guinea I met the man who was detained in Camp Boiro for 7 years. Do you believe he would be going back and forth between Dakar and Conakry if he felt threatened?"

#### Exceptional Operations

The Regional Delegation specifies, however, that, despite these facts, repatriation is not compuslory. The HCR subsidizes those who want to return to Guinea.

During the 2 February 1985 meeting, however, Guinean students asked to continue receiving assistance as refugees, after the end of their studies, either in Senegal or Guinea. They were told: "It is against all HCR principles; one cannot be a refugee in one's own country. The purpose of the HCR is not to cover the material failure of a state; it is up to that government to seek help from the other organizations of the UN network handling such tasks." For that matter, the aid given the Guinean repatriates, it is explained, is an exceptional operation which was made possible only through a derogation by the UN secretary general.

As a matter of fact, happening one year after Sékou Touré's fall, the reaction of the Guinean refugees, who are being helped by the HCR, coincides with the end of a kind of interim phase designed by the Regional Delegation for its "beneficiaries." The latter had one year in which to make up their mind and decide whether they would become "foreign residents" in Senegal or return to Guinea. "Beyond a certain reasonable delay, we can no longer help them with their repatriation. Some people have been helped for the past 10 years or so; one cannot remain a refugee forever."

Students on HCR scholarships, however, continue to be aided to the end of their studies; those who have completed their studies are helped for 6 months, "following which they must fend for themselves like Senegalese graduates."

This quarrel between the HCR and its "protégés" (or former protégés) actually shows the shortcomings of the mandate of this organization. As a matter of fact, it is unfortunate that there is no automatic linkage between the time aid to the refugee ends and his reclassification is taken over by a humanitarian organization, if not by his own country. Choosing between returning to one's own country and the status of foreign resident does not automatically guarantee a source of income and is not, consequently, a "lasting solution," as the HCR likes to assert.

And if caution is not exerted, many former political refugees will have no other choice but to join the cohort of "economic refugees."

#### How Many Refugees?

It is a known fact that most fruit vendors in Dakar are Guineans. Many other Guineans have small restaurants most of which bear the name "At Diallo." This huge mass of Guineans, however, is not known to the people of the HCR Regional Delegation in Dakar. The latter only assists those who have registered and are recognized as refugees: Between 200 and 300, according to the Delegation; barely 50 declare the authors of the "appeal of the Guinean refugees in Senegal."

For its part, the Senegalese government has an eligibility commission which studies the cases of candidates requesting the status of refugee. Statistics released by the Senegalese government, however, are incredibly inconsistent, no more so, however, than those of many countries when it comes to this subject. Senegal claimed to have 5,200 refugees in January 1984. It must be added that, at the time, Sékou Touré was still alive and, undoubtedly, officials were trying to spare his feelings: There were more "African brothers" than refugees. In November 1984, however, during CIARA II, Senegal declared that it had between 300,000 to 400,000 refugees most of whom were Guineans. One refugee commented: "We are being used to obtain funds."

6857

CSO: 3419/370

GUINEA

SOVIET TRADE UNION DELEGATION VISIT, COOPERATION DISCUSSED

Outline of Visit

Conakry HOROYA in French 21 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Mamady Wasco Keita]

[Text] A delegation from the Soviet Trade Union Center which has been in Guinea since Thursday 14 March, leaves Conakry this afternoon after being the guests of the Prefectures of Kindia and Forecariah on 18 and 19 March.

Accompanied by members of the Executive Bureau of the National Worker's Confederation of Guinea and the General Secretaries of Professional Federations, the Soviet trade union representatives had as a goal forming an association with Guinean workers and helping them to build up our country. And, as Klopov, the mission chief, pointed out, "trade unionism is practiced at the work place, with the workers, sharing their problems and stimulating their morale." It all began at Kindia, where the workers of the different sectors gave a warm welcome to the delegation. Here, we should mention the positive participation of the Prefect who, in the name of the Governor of the Province, greeted the Soviet guests, especially noting the valuable aid which the USSR continues to give to Guinea. This fact was also noted by the General Secretary of the confederated Bureau of the National Confederation of the Workers of Guinea, Dr Samba Kebe, who stressed the excellence of Soviet-Guinean rapport in all areas.

The trade union representatives from the USSR than visited the Nene Khaly Condetto Biological Research Institute, the Institute of Agro-Zootechnical Science at Foulaya, and the mines at Debele.

The next morning the delegation went to Maferinya in the Prefecture of Forecariah, and the visit continued Wednesday at ENTA, Sobragui, and Soprociment.

#### Issues Discussed

Conakry HOROYA in French 23 Mar 85 p 7

[Article by Mamady Wasco Keita]

[Text] As mentioned in our preceding issue, the delegation of the Central Counsel of Soviet Trade Unions (CCSS) who visited our country for a week at the invitation of the Executive Bureau of the Worker's Confederation of Guinea left Thursday evening and returned to Moscow by air.

A short time before their departure, the Soviet labor representatives attended a final work meeting with their Guinean counterparts, after which they issued a joint communique.

According to this document, the two parties manifested their desire to reaffirm and to enlarge even more upon the amicable bilateral relations existing between them because of the agreement to promote Soviet-Guinean worker's union ties and cooperation between the years 1985 and 1989.

The discussions of major questions about the present situation and the international labor movement allowed them to note their agreement on points of view concerning the subjects discussed.

They expressed their conviction that the battle for international security, the prevention of nuclear war, and the maintenance of peace on earth is primary for labor, that the success of this fight is, above all, a function of cohesion and constant effort on the part of the workers and their organizations.

On the Nambian question, the two delegations manifested their support for SWAPO (South-West African People's Organization) in its fight for the liberation of the country and asked for the application of the United Nations' decisions.

The executive Bureau of the CTG (Worker's Confederation of Guinea) and the delegation of the CCSS (Soviet Trade Union Center) stated that the tension that continues to exist in the South of the African continent is a direct consequence of the racist government of Pretoria.

They also hailed the will of the Arab peoples in their fight, especially the Arab People of Palestine, in the defense of its legitimate national interests.

The two groups announced in favor of the demands of the developing countries for the organization of a new international economic order and the establishment of their sovereignty over their natural resources, the abolition of all forms of exploitation, the elimination of all

unnatural obstacles and descrimination in world commerce. These changes would contribute to resolving numerous vital problems and to fostering the welfare of the workers of these countries.

The delegation of the CCSS returned home satisfied with the warm and cordial reception it received during its stay in Guinea.

12230

CSO: 3419/359

GUINEA

OFFENSIVE AGAINST GOLD, PRECIOUS GEM TRAFFICKERS INTENSIFY

Conakry HOROYA in French 23 Mar 85 p 7

[Article: "Sixteen Kilograms of Gold Seized From a Trafficker"]

[Text] There were 16.125 kilograms of gold and 7.19 carets of diamonds seized at the airport. The person carrying them receives 6 months in prison and a fine of 4,943.405 syls.

The fight to stop the destabilization and smothering tactics being used against the Guinean economy is beginning to bear fruit. This fight was begun by the Second Republic and was reinvigorated by the recent National Customs Conference.

In fact, each day that passes brings forth better fruit. Each day victories are noted against those who devote themselves to the fraudulent importation of merchandise, to the re-exportation of goods imported by the Guinean government, to the equally fraudulent exportation of precious stones, or to the perfidious monetary transactions which are presently causing great damage because of the unofficial market in foreign exchange stock. Such transactions, very strong and well provisioned, regularly benefit Guineans of the wrong category: the traffickers.

A case of this type was discovered a short time ago at the Conakry International Airport. It happened Saturday, 2 February 1985 at 9:30 pm. That day Airport Customs seized 16.125 kilograms of gold in powder form and 7.19 carats of jewelry grade diamonds from Ousmane Diakhaby who was attempting to export them.

Ousmane Diakhaby, an import-export dealer of his country, who was leaving for Brussels by air, vainly tried to "arrange a deal" with Adjudant Mamadouba Sylla, called "N'Poré" to whom he allegedly proposed 150,000 sylis, to be paid as soon as Sylla had taken care of checking of his baggage.

But Sylla declined the offer, the size of which must have convinced him that the valise contained something of great value, thus showing proof that a new attitude is beginning to emerge among our customs officials.

Immediately Sylla made him close his suitcase and sent him to his superiors in the Customs Office, Major Sékou Diallo and Captain Ousmane Diallo, The Brigade Chief.

After the preliminary investigation and verification at the Service of Mines level concerning the quality and quantity of the merchandise, the gold and diamonds were deposited in the Central Bank, and the offender was indicted 4 February 1985. Arraigned before the Tribunal of Conakry I, Mr Ousmane Diakhaby was sentenced 20 March.

What took place at the trial?

It must be said that all went relatively well at this public trial. It was presided over by Aissatou, the Vice-President of the Tribunal of Conakry I. The Public Ministry was represented by Ammar Balde, Prosecuter of the Republic and the civil sector was represented by Major Sekou Diallo, the chief of the Airport Customs Post.

The accused, Ousmane Diakhaby, who has 2 wives and 10 children living, never once denied the facts of which he was accused. So, he emerged from his trial with a firm sentence of 6 months in prison and a fine equal to the value of the goods seized from him, a sum of 4,943,405 sylis.

12230

CSO: 3419/359

IVORY COAST

#### BRIEFS

GRADUATION AT POLICE ACADEMY—Four hundred and fifty-seven trainees, to be appointed to the inistry of internal ecurity, will graduate in 1985 (14 from Category A, 31 from Category B and 412 from Category C) from the Police Academy where 457 new recruits were accepted. Appropriations have been made for them in the 1985 budget. In addition, 16 persons from Category A were appointed to the inistry of the interior. [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French Mar 85 p 14] 6857

CSO: 3419/370

KENYA

ECONOMIC, DEMOGRAPHIC, MILITARY PROBLEMS THREATEN STABILITY

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 29 Mar 85 p 10

[Analysis by Dietrich Strothmann: "Kenya in Arap Moi's Grasp: Underneath the Surface Things are in a Turmoil"]

[Text] Caution! Violence! Well-meaning [people] warn visitors on their first day not to venture through the side streets of Nairobi at night. A red warning sign stands on desks in hotel rooms: "If you leave the house at night, you'd better call a taxi."

The hotel is only barely 100 meters from the main street. A park lies in between. However, the short path through this green area is perilous in the dark. It can be dangerous: it is true that a robber does not lurk behind each tree or behind each bush; not every white man is going to be attacked. However, the crime rate is on the rise from month to month in Nairobi; in the newspapers there is at least one report every day of an armed holdup. Increasingly, these have fatal results. Increasingly they involve businessmen, state employees, politicians, and priests as victims. Often they are committed by bands of juveniles; frequently, they are also said to involve discharged non-commissioned officers, who set the tone in Nairobi's underworld.

What is the state doing to defend its citizens? One day president Daniel Arap Moi praises the police, promises new uniforms "in order to deter" the criminal - but there is a lack of gasoline to be able to chase the criminals. Another example: in order to prevent thieves from holdups pistols made out of wood were distributed to businessmen - until the burglars found out about this and Arap Moi ordered recall of the fake pistols. Days, nights in Nairobi: a little bit of Chicago, a little bit of Frankfurt -in the middle of Africa.

During the day, Nairobi gives the appearance of a blossoming, prospering cosmopolitan city that is bursting at the seams. During the last 10 years one high-rise building after the other sprung out of the ground, often built with the aid of a well-known Israeli concern. Traffic on the wide express road has tripled. Nairobi has become the money and commerce center of East Africa. The person who buys or sells, does business, or wants to have a share in businesses chooses Nairobi as his regular seat. There are said to be 50

millionaires in U.S. dollars in Kenya already, among them all of the ministers in Moi's pointless cabinet. The president himself has a share in the largest firms and in the financially strongest banks; he is said to be one of the twenty richest men in the world - but only of the twenty richest. It was claimed that Kenyatta, his world-renowned predecessor, was one of the ten richest men.

As Nairobi forms an exception in Kenya, so is Kenya an exception in East Africa. While in its neighbors Uganda, Tanzania, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia everything is topsy-turvy - where tribal and civil wars, economic decline, and famine are the order of the day, Kenya appears like an oasis of peace, an island of prosperity, an isle of tolerance.

To be sure, in August 1982 there was an attempted coup d'etat by discontented Air Force officers which was suppressed after a few hours. Also, at the time of the biggest famine, transportation and delivery of food functioned even in the most remote provinces, and apparently nobody died of starvation. day the daily newspapers, the radio, and the television toast the man who is supposed to have brought all this about, the "wise, clever, fatherly" president: when he opens a new school, when he holds a graduation ceremony for police students, when he personally shows corn farmers how the ground has to be cultivated, when he advises music school graduates to promote Kenyan folk songs, when he appeals for contributions for special treatments for a girl suffering from a heart condition, when he accepts money for his antifamine or tree-planting program - only cash please, no checks because they often bounced. In any case, between the lines of cheer, once in a while a cautious criticism of the patriarchal politics of the president appears. When, for instance, the otherwise "pious" Moi newspapers reprint one of his feared Sunday speeches, it is then, say the initiates, that his otherwise shiny image is marred. The former elementary school teacher is, assuredly, anything other than a gifted speaker who is striking in his wisdom.

"Everyone listens to my orders", he told women who demanded more rights and more of a share in the power of Kenya's male society. This happened at the airport upon his return from Ethiopia. Or the way he dismissed the unsuccessful "African socialism" of his presidential colleague Nyerere from Tanzania with the simple remark: "My ideology is the stomach." The "friendly dictator" Daniel Arap Moi, who thinks and speaks simply, but who often also flares up, certainly fits in with the mood of the Kenyans, who feel themselves superior, and who answer such disparaging characterizations by the Tanzanians as: "Kenyans eat people", with the even more disparaging "Tanzanians don't eat anything at all".

The president, who is constantly on the road, today here, tomorrow there, tries to face one of the hardest problems of his country: birth control with simple, homespun formulas. So, lately on one of his daily country jaunts, he stopped in a small provincial town and told the women (who bring an average of eight children into the world) surrounding his Mercedes 600: "Only birds lay eggs and entrust their progeny to fate after they are hatched." This may sound primitive, but it makes sense.

However, Moi cannot improve things in his country with speeches alone - not the social plight, not the economic danger, not the political patronage system. Kenya, at 4 percent, has the highest birth rate in the world, but it has an economic growth of only 3 percent. The World Bank estimates that the population will almost double by the year 2000, from the current roughly 19 million to more than 34 million. Today, out of almost 300,000 graduates per year, 270,000 have no training slot and no jobs. Thus, slums grow at the edge of Nairobi, the youth crime rate increases, poverty continues to take hold. Added to that the arable land continues to shrink (only 20 percent of Kenya can be used for farming), and industrialization is naturally limited (Kenya has no mineral resources). Some additional facts: Kenya's 32,500 Asians are the majority in commerce and they set the tone for business life - which leads to racial tension; patronage in public offices, corruption, and fraud are spreading like a cancerous growth; constant abandoning of farms increases the city proletariat and rampant unemployment constitutes a social explosive.

Kenya is stuck in a vicious circle. The "oasis" lies in twilight. Under the surface of the iceberg there is turmoil and unrest. In villages, incensed parents are burning schools because the teachers are either not coming to class or they are drunk. In the cities, administration employees spend their working hours in beer halls while leaving their jackets hanging on the office chairs as a cover.

Those who belongs to Moi's tribe, the Kadendjis, have no more money worries. He gets the import licenses which are usually in short supply; they receive the assured spot as a candidate in the forthcoming elections in the only state party, the Kanu; they get the higher officers' positions; they obtain lucrative jobs as heads of a government department. The latent tribal rivalries determine Kenya's everyday reality, all the way up to the highest positions in the state and military organizations. Immediately following the takeover after the death of the "great leader" Jomo Kenyatta, who belonged to the largest tribe - the Kikujus, Daniel Arap Moi, the former vice-president, replaced all those who held seats in parliament with members of his clantoday there are essentially only Kadendjis in his immediate surroundings, in the government, and in the army. Alone, high-handed and autocratic, the president rules according to his motto, which has long since worn thin: "peace, love, unity". The state is Moi, Moi is the state.

There where resistance stirs, or even rebellion, it does not flicker very long. He made short work of the August 1982 rebels who had almost overthrown him. He distanced himself even from the closest accomplice, the Minister for the Constitution Charles Njonjo, a prominent figure of the Kikuju. He then graciously set him free while the rebellious lieutenants, university professors, and students were put in jail. When last February students assembled in the football stadium of the university for a peaceful demonstration in favor of unjustly expelled fellow students, he let them be beaten blindly by the GSU Special Unit of the police, a kind of secret police. Supposedly, the students had thrown stones, but it was a grass field; supposedly, dozens of policemen were injured, but they were secret service men were smuggled in as civilians and were beaten by their own colleagues. At least Moi could teach the rebellious students manners. Another time he had the

university of Nairobi closed for an indeterminate length of time. The students were then living off their parents who often had scrimped and saved in order to pay for the expensive tuition fees. In the long run, this also will serve to foster strife, discontent, and unrest.

Daniel Arap Moi, whom supporters celebrate as "God's gift", also acts ruthlessly against cattle thieves and Somalian "bandits". Whether it's like a short time ago at the border with Uganda, or like at the beginning of 1984 at the border area with Somalia - the president hunts down the "criminal elements" mercilessly with combat helicopters and fighter bombers. Afterwards he boasts, full of pride: they were not punished by "ordinary rain from heaven", but by a "rain of fire". More than a thousand people died. However in the case of Uganda the operation had been arranged with Obote's military forces; in Somalia's case Moi subsequently concluded a border agreement which ended a year-long bloody conflict.

Unlike his authoritarian predecessor Jomo Kenyatta, Moi travels a lot in foreign countries, be it in Europe, in America, in Asia, or in Africa - where he ably presided over the OAU (Organization of African States) during a difficult time. He even reconciled himself with Tanzania - another archenemy of Kenya from earlier times. Thereupon, Nyerere opened the borders again. Moi aids Sudan, Uganda, and Ethiopia as best he can - in the same way, he is trying hard to promote peace and order inside his own country among rival tribes and among the anxious Kenyan Asians (who were born in the country but whose hearts beat for India, and who have invested their money securely in London).

Experts in Nairobi report that after the violent looting of Indian businesses and apartments following the army revolt of August 1982, partly with the aid of the army and the police, many Asians had already packed their suitcases again: just get away from Kenya. Since then, they are investing in the land again and are doing lucrative business as before.

Supposedly, the poorer Kenyans are not at all jealous of the ostentatious wealth of the "upper ten thousand". Apparently they even admire such a pretentious life of luxury in the same way that their own large families are viewed as visible evidence of manly vigor. Apparently, they unreservedly approve of their politicians and, above all, their president (who alone owns three models of the Mercedes 600) having their various bank accounts together with their shares in all possible profitable businesses. Apparently, the "ones on top" can afford to do anything, to bribe, and to be bribed. Supposedly, a thoroughbred politician like the highly regarded "Sir Charles" Njonjo keeps silent as long as he is allowed to continue to hold the political and economic reins in the background - maybe even to president Moi's advantage, so long as he can go undisturbed about his profitable interests, whether in South Arrica or in England. It is being whispered, and not so quietly, either, that Njonjo knows exactly what "skeletons in the closet" Moi still has and how many. Thus, the two have to rely on each other even now after the outward estrangement: the president and his old henchman who first made him president.

The interdependence - the "as I do unto you so you do unto me" - is also similar between the head of state and the real power factor in Kenya: the army. The generals, in the great majority, belong to Moi's tribe. Moi soon wants to elect his devoted chief of staff, who is due for retirement, to minister of defense, the first one in the almost 20-year history of independent Kenya (for the time being, the president himself is still the top leader of the army). Daniel Arap Moi, after the unsuccessful revolt, provided for discipline and loyalty within the officer corps with generous gifts: large farms, shares in companies, villas, import businesses, and limousines. For the enlisted personnel he provided, to say the least, new and better private apartments and tax-free purchase of whisky. Arap Moi, like Daniel in the Kenyan lion's den, keeps the peace in a population that is quick to rebel and inclined to make trouble by providing low food prices. In the same way, he recently got himself a reprieve by keeping a huge crowd of graduates in school an extra year. This is the way he keeps the military in ckeck - by clever and cunning demonstrations of trust.

How long will that work? How long will Daniel Arap Moi's lid stay on the boiling Kenyan pot? It went very fast in August 1982 -completely unexpected. At that time the coup almost would have succeeded if it had been better organized, and if more units had joined in. At that time the young rebelling officers had already taken possession of the radio station and of the place of honor at Kenyatta's tomb.

However, the army is not the only latently unstable factor for the president. His power seems in fact truly boundless, but his life is being continously and carefully protected by body guards. There is already a rumor being spread that Moi, the non-smoker and non-drinker, is drowning his fear in alcohol and is not sleeping at night. Even the students he wanted to bring to their senses with brute force cannot be gagged in the long run. Only last week, as an act of protest against the president, they openly burned their uniforms in which they were supposed to turn out for a three-month "social service" in their villages.

And the armies of people in the slums? Three hundred thousand alone vegetate in two large camps on Nairobi's city boundary, close to districts of well-to-do citizens. And the army of the unemployed, the roving, stealing youths? And finally the Kikujus who as "Kenya's Prussians" once sat at the reins of politics and economy: the envious "blacks" opposite the sated "greedy browns" - the Asiatic fellow citizens? Day after day on his trips across his land Daniel Arap Moi preaches to them that all are "wanachi" -"brothers", "citizens"; and he brandishes the presidential symbol, his "grungo", as confirmation of his "fatherly" promise. This is the de luxe model of that club with which the Masai herdsmen protect their cows and goats from the wild animals. However, who will protect the president when it comes down to the bottom line? If that came to pass his club would soon lie in the dust. It is really only a barren symbol of his strength.

12521 CSO: 3420/49

LESOTHO

#### BRIEFS

FAO OFFICIAL VISITING--The FAO director general, Mr Edouard Saouma, is in Lesotho on a 3-day official visit during which he will hold talks with the ministers of agriculture and marketing, planning, employment and economic affairs, and cooperatives and rural development. Mr Saouma will be taken on a conducted tour of the (Makhoati) food self-sufficiency scheme, the food and vegetable cannery at (Matsianekeng), the (Sihlabatebe) and (Thabana Morena) projects. He will also tour the industrial area and agricultural projects around Maseru. Before leaving Lesotho on Wednesday, he will pay a courtesy call on his majesty, the king, and the right honorable prime minister. [Text] [Maseru Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 29 Apr 85 MB]

INFORMATION MINISTER RETURNS—The minister of information and broadcasting, the Honorable D.T. Sixishe, returned to Maseru yesterday after attending a special conference on the independence of Namibia in New Delhi, India. The conference, which was called by the Nonaligned Movement, was attended by more than 100 fraternal organizations and was chaired by the Indian prime minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi. After the New Delhi meeting, the minister proceeded to Indonesia where he represented Lesotho at the 30th anniversary of Asian—African conference in Bandung. The Bandung conference of 1955 was believed to have been the forerunner of the Nonaligned Movement. The minister was accompanied on this trip by the official for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr (R. Mahawula). [Text] [Maseru Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 29 Apr 85 MB]

DANISH AGRICULTURAL AID--A management agreement for the Lesotho national abattoir and the Lesotho feedlot project was signed between the government of Lesotho and DANAGRO advisor AF of Denmark today. Under this agreement DANAGRO will provide the Lesotho Government with a management team necessary for the operation of the two projects. The team will consist of a general manager, financial controller, production manager, feedlot manager, and maintenance engineer. Speaking at this occasion the honorable minister of agriculture, Mr Peete N. Peete, said this project is unique because it will reach even the poorest citizen of this country, as Basotho are livestock keeping people. [Excerpt] [Maseru Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 8 May 85 MB]

cso: 3400/155

MADAGAS CAR

RATSIRAKA ON REGIONAL QUESTIONS

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Mar 85 p 8

[Interview by J. B.; date and place not given]

[Text] "I do not see the need for the Francophone movement." "South Africa represents a potential danger for us."

QUESTION: In your opinion, does France's admission as a full member to the Indian Ocean Commission constitute an official recognition of France as a regional power, with Reunion as an intermediary.

RATSIRAKA: If we want to establish inter-island trade, we cannot ignore Reunion, our neighbor. We prefer that Reunion import our goods rather than South African goods, particularly because we are able to sell to Reunion in French francs and not in dollars. Could we have invited Reunion to sit on the Indian Ocean Commission as an abstract entity, without any political dimension? For the time being, Reunion is a French department. This is a fact. I do not speak for the Reunionese. If, for reasons of their own, they want to maintain the status quo, I support them. I cannot be more Reunionese: than the Reunionese.

QUESTION: Will the fact that the French language has been given a greater role to play in the Malagasy educational system lead your country to make more of the French-speaking community?

RATSIRAKA: The answer is "No": I do not know what lurks behind the French speaking community movement, or the ulterior motives of those who advocate this concept. I do not see why I would be in the forefront of this movement, as Senghor was. Repercussions of the past? The motives that governed the founding of the French-speaking movement seem somewhat suspicious to me. This yoke, this sort of brotherhood--Why? For now, I see no need for it. To us, the French language is still a window on the world, a means of mastering modern technology. In saying this, I am no less of a patriot or a nationalist than anyone else.

<sup>\*</sup> The Indian Ocean Commission is formed by Madagascar, Mauritius, and the Seychelles, which have recently been joined by the Comoros and by France.

QUESTION: In your view, does South Africa represent a threat to the Indian Ocean countries? How do you view the diplomatic initiatives recently undertaken by Pretoria towards certain member countries of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)--Mozambique, the Comoros, Somalia?

"I Have Re-established Relations With the Comoros"

RATSIRAKA: Whoever is not for me, is against me. As long as the apartheid system governs its politics, South Africa will represent a potential danger for us. I am not saying an immediate danger, because South Africa, for the moment, has other fish to fry. The regime in Pretoria is our enemy. We have already had problems with it: In particular, planes have flown over our territory and landed there. It may happen again. The danger persists, even if some find it laughable. It is not right for African countries to receive South African officials. One's deeds must reflect one's words. I accept the fact that Mozambique signed the Nkomati Pact in March 1984 in hopes of ridding itself of the "armed bandits" in the "Mozambican National Resistance". But to go further than that would be to betray Africa. If the heads of state of the Comoros and Somalia had attended the QAU summit last November in Addis Ababa, they would have heard their peers discussing this question and perhaps would have then thought twice (before dialoging with the regime in Pretoria). Their relations with South Africa worry me. It is for this reason that we have had no relations with the Comoros since 1977. If I decided to renew relations with this country, it was precisely in order to prevent it from falling completely into South Africa's arms. I do not want to Comorans to blame me one day for not having tried anything to dissuade them from it.

QUESTION: Do you share the opinion of Julius Nyerere, the incumbent president of the OAU, that the international Monetary Fund (IMF) is an instrument in the hands of the rich countries, to subjugate the poor countries?

RATSIRAKA: What the IMF proposes is not inherently bad. But the same treatment cannot be used for all illnesses. The therapy must be adapted to the patient. Whatever the case, at the point our economy had reached, we would have applied the policies, with or without the IMF. Having said this, the policy, if it is to be workable, must be accompanied by measures to alleviate our foreign debt. If there is alleviation, the social cost of the operation would be very tolerable. In this regard, I suggested that a club of indebted countries be created, a structure that would be mutually beneficial to debtors and creditors.

QUESTION: You recently spoke of the need to change attitudes. After the end of the first decade of revolutionary government, are you not somewhat disappointed by the Malagasy people's response to your appeals?

RATSIRAKA: Yes, I am somewhat disappointed, but the world is what it is. If one Malagasy out of five changed his attitude, that would be positive. But it is not necessary to have hope in order to attempt something....

Everything hinges on the changing of attitudes. In the northern part of the country, in the Majunga region, for example, the residents themselves built 80 km of roads. Why couldn't this be done elsewhere? But there are people who refuse to roll up their sleeves.

## A Single Party?

QUESTION: Are you in favor of an eventual establishment of a single party? Is this not a condition for national unity and therefore a precondition for economic development?

RATSIRAKA: I have, since 1975, hoped for the establishment of a single party. Individuals' sensitivities prevented it from coming about. We missed our opportunity. It is regrettable. Under these conditions, I therefore formed my own party\*. If, in the future, others feel the need to create a single party, I would be for it. But I will never force the Malagasy people to go in this direction. The present situation does not bother me. I am not a dictator.

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CSO: 3419/362

<sup>\*</sup>The National Front for the Defense of the Revolution takes in seven political groups, including the Avant-Garde of the Malagasy Revolution (AREMA), founded by the president.

MOZAMBIQUE

#### DEBTS OWED PORTUGUESE FIRMS TO BE PAID BY BANKS

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 5 Apr 85 p 4

[Text] Mozambique is expected to respond by the middle of May to the proposal submitted to it by the Bank of Portugal with a view to establishing the conditions for the rescheduling of the debt to Lisbon which Maputo has accumulated. This plan comes within the framework of the negotiations which have been under way between the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Club of Paris and are expected to lead to the signing of an agreement between all the large creditor countries and the former Portuguese colony on 30 June of this year.

Although the results of the talks in Paris require that all the participants grant that African country the same time conditions for the payment of its debts--Mozambique will have 5 years with nothing to pay and 6 more years to liquidate its back debts--the interest rates to be applied throughout the period during which Maputo will pay off its debt (owed and falling due by June of 1985) will be the subject of bilateral negotiations.

Maputo stopped making foreign payments as of the middle of 1983, having since then acquired foreign support only through immedate payment or by using gift and credit obtained from governmental aid departments and foundations in the Third World. As Portugal does not have such financing tools for its exportion trade with Mozambique has been seriously reduced, being limited to commitment already undertaken previously.

With the signing of the agreement between Mozambique and the Club of Paris, the commercial banks which financed exports to that African country will replace Mozambique as the payor, if those exports were made on credit guaranteed by the state. In this way the enterprises (Portuguese and others) will have their credit redeemed. In Portugal, practically all of the operations of this sort were concluded with credit guaranteed by the COSEC [Credit Insurance Company] or directly by the state.

By the end of June, the accumulated lago in state-to-state relations will also have been settled and, much more important, the final agreement on the rescheduling of the foreign debt of Mozambique will make it possible to establish some credit for new operation. "The philosophy of the rescheduling operations carried out by the Western countries within the context of the Club

of Paris always involves not only the resolution of back payment problems, but also the creation of a certain `oxygen tank' through new financing," a domestic source told EXPRESSO.

It will be remembered that Mozambique has already asked for acceptance by the International Monetary Fund, and the last news bulletin from that multilateral institution included a long report on the analysis of the Mozambican economy undertaken by an International Monetary Fund mission which visited Maputo recently.

5157

CSO: 3442/251

MOZAMBIQUE

#### RELATION OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY TO WESTERN TRADE ANALYZED

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 5 Apr 85 p 26

[Text] A number of African countries following the socialist path of development after winning independence are now making an effort to reestablish their relations with the West. Their Marxism provided the means of overcoming decades of economic and social neglect. But the serious international economic situation and, in some cases, the growing disillusionment with centralized planning and the rate of development are leading these countries to liberalize their economies and to seek Western investment.

Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the Congo are typical examples of these trends. The FRELIMO, the Marxist-Leninist par j which governs Mozambique, has embarked upon a delicate exercise in balance, making an effort to maintain a socialist domestic policy, while turning ever increasingly toward the West in search of financial resources.

#### A Vanguard Party

Some say that this is possible, and they cite the success of the Soviet Union in encouraging private foreign investments in the 2 decades which followed the October Revolution. But the economic atmosphere is more hostile now, and the Soviet Union was not to reach any understanding with the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The FRELIMO is more pragmatic about the socialist path of development than it was 9 years ago when independence was won.

No one disputes that the great state rural operations and highly centralized planning were very costly failures. But the debate continues concerning the reasons for these failures.

Was it because the Portuguese left Mozambique with so few trained people--only 15 percent could read and write when independence was won--or were there more basic problems with the large farm operations and the central planning in a country characterized by subsistence farming and in which there is no shortage of land?

Some hard-line Marxists want to encourage joint ventures with capitalist farm enterprises to prove that large estates can succeed in Mozambique. But the basic question as to whether it is possible to manage the type of large plantations which existed in the colonial era by socialist processes remains.

In the past, exports covered less than half of the imports, with the deficit being compensated by a subsidy from South Africa, and the undercapitalized farm exports of the country depended on the profits from the overexploitation of manpower.

The economy needed to be restructured in 1975, independent of the orientation of the new government.

At its third congress in 1977, the FRELIMO declared itself a vanguard Marxist-Leninist party. This means that it is not a party of the masses, but one limited to the most exemplary workers and peasants. However, the party candidates have to be approved at mass meetings of their neighbors and coworkers, and given the low educational level, the knowledge of Marxist principles and even the basic ability to read and write are not requirements for membership. Rather the party seeks to educate its members.

Criticism of "Specific Socialisms"

The FRELIMO says that Marxism is a tool to be applied to local conditions, but it criticizes "specific socialisms" of the kind outlined by Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, based on communal traditions rather than on Marx.

It says that these types of socialism are not scientific and do not take into account the exploitation to be found in the old tribal societies.

When independence was won, the FRELIMO nationalized the land, all of the leased properties and social services. As a part of its policy of expanding health and education services through the establishment of rural primary schools and health posts and a national adult literacy campaign, primary teachers and auxiliary health personnel were trained by the thousands, as compared to a half a dozen doctors and university professors.

Health and education are free and serve about two-thirds of the population. This is one of the keys to the popularity of the FRELIMO.

Although the goal of the FRELIMO was to control the economy, it never had administration of it in mind. Only the oil refinery was nationalized, for strategic reasons.

The enterprises which had been abandoned or sabotaged also came under government control, as was also the case with many banks.

The greater part of the economy is now state-administered, but there is still a private bank (Standard Totta), as well as private plantations, textile factories, automobile enterprises and others, along with a variety of joint venture companies.

In order to control its mixed economy, the state took charge of imports and the distribution of all products, and adopted a national planning system covering both state and private enterprises, as well as the largest private and cooperative plantations.

Private investments continued to be possible and were even encouraged. However, the FRELIMO hoped that the government could control the economy through the creation of great state factories and farm estates.

The state retained the majority of shares for itself even in the new joint venture companies for the production of tires and in the fishing sector, involving private American, Spanish and Japanese enterprises and a Soviet state company.

## Lack of Foreign Capital

After an initial period of economic decline, production increased between 1979 and 1981. But the projects of Mozambique were affected by the lack of foreign capital, following the world recession, and by the lack of knowledge concerning management and planning, by the drought and by South African destabilization.

As the FRELIMO lost control of the economy, marketing and production began to collapse. The official statistics show that economic activity dropped 7 percent in 1982 and 16 percent in 1983, and the per capita gross national product dropped from \$208 (37,400 escudos) in 1981 to less than \$155 (27,900 escudos) in 1983. At the same time, the black market was flourishing.

First the FRELIMO turned toward the East in search of aid. But the Soviet Union vetoed its application for entry into the socialist economic bloc, the CEMA, going against the support from East Germany and Bulgaria.

Moscow refused to give Mozambique the kind of financial aid it provided to Cuba and Vietnam. It sees no strategic interest south of the Equator, a position which has perhaps been strengthened by the opposition of the FRELIMO to American or Soviet bases in the Indian Ocean.

Later, the USSR sent vital oil supplies, the only thing which kept Mozambican planes in the air, as well as food products and consumer goods, but not a cent in the form of development capital.

Mozambique began to court the West with greater diligence and zeal at the beginning of 1982. President Samora Machel visited Eastern Europe in 1983, seeking private investments. He even met with Harry Oppenheimer, president of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa. Relations with the United States, which last year took Mozambique off its black list, improved. The nonaggression pact signed in March of 1984 with South Africa is closely linked with the improvement in relations with the West. Mozambique applied to the World Bank and the IMF for acceptance.

The internal changes began in 1983, with the Fourth Party Congress. Socialist planning continues, but in a less centralized form.

At least temporarily, the FRELIMO is avoiding major state development projects and is giving more support to small commercial and farm enterprises, both private and cooperative.

The serious crisis in farm products means that priority is going to the farmers, to whom resources and machinery are being provided so that they can produce more.

Some land has been distributed to the peasants, mainly the best ones.

Sacrifice of the "Sacred Cows"

The budget and the national plan for 1984 recognize that the subsidies for food and labor have led to a credit explosion which must be contained. Enterprises have been authorized to dismiss excess manpower, while the state has placed a freeze on employment.

The sacrifice of a number of the "sacred cows" of the FRELIMO, although it has not been announced, is included in the plan. Some public officials will be dismissed in order to reduce state expenditures. Food subsidies will be reduced and other prices increased, and health and education will cease to be free. Fixed prices will be abandoned for some products, in a turn toward a freer market system. There is even talk of denationalization and parts of the state-owned farm properties have been offered to Lornrho and other enterprises.

An intensive internal debate concerning these changes is in progress, and this is one of the reasons they have not yet been announced in Mozambique.

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CSO: 3442/352

MOZAMBIQUE

#### BRIEFS

UK SIGNS JOINT VENTURE PACT -- The Mozambican Government and the British multinational Lonhro today signed an agreement in Maputo setting out the general guidelines of cooperation in several fields. Under the agreement, the joint company, to be known as (Lonmarks), would be set up to develop economic activities in Mozambique. It follows about 1 year of contacts during which potential areas of investment were investigated. The agreement covers farming in the south of Mozambique, possible involvement in the mining of gold, and participation in tourism, with particular interest in several hotel complexes one of these is Maputo city's Polano Hotel. In signing, Lonhro has already named its manager for up to 3,000 hectares of land in the south of Mozambique to grow maize, soy, cotton and vegetables. The agreement was signed by Mozambique Finance Minister Rui Baltazar and Executive director of Lonhro Tiny Rowlands. Mr Rowlands afterward paid a courtesy call to President Samora Machel. At the signing ceremony, Mr Rowlands described the agreement as the continuation of our friendship, which we wish will continue. [Text] in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 29 Apr 85 MB]

GDR EDUCATION AGREEMENT--In Maputo yesterday, Mozambique and GDR delegations signed a memorandum of cooperation between the two socialist countries in the field of education. The doucments were signed by Joao Raposo Beirao, deputy minister of education of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and (Gottfried Bormann), director of external relations in the Ministry of Education of the GDR. The two delegations met for 8 days and assessed existing cooperation in the field of education and outlined a more efficient plan for future cooperation. During their meetings the delegations also assessed the training of Mozambican cadres in the GDR, particularly the Mozambican youths at the Friendship School. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 5 May 85 MB]

ADMINISTRATOR MEETS 'EX-BANDITS'--The party first secretary and administrator of Vilanculo in Inhambane recently met with the former armed bandits who are in a reintegration center on Bazaruto Island in that district. That occurred in the course of a visit which the administrator made to the island accompanied by the provincial and district directors of fisheries and other party and government cadres. At the meeting with the former bandits now in the process of reintegration, they mentioned the lack of clothing, soap and china as being the main problems they are encountering. In Bazaruto, there are three centers for the reintegration of former armed bandits who repented of their acts and surrendered to our defense and security forces.

[Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 4 Mar 85 p 1] 8711

CHINESE AID--The Chinese Red Cross Association gave a check for \$20,000 for repair work on power supply lines damaged by the recent storm that have disrupted the supply of power to Maputo. The donation was handed over by (Deng Cheng-Chen), Chinese charge d'affaires, to Aranda da Silva, deputy chairman of the commission for the prevention of and fight against natural disasters. Aranda da Silva expressed thanks for the Chinese people's and government's gesture and stressed the traditional relations between the two countries forged since the national liberation armed struggle in Mozambique and consolidated during our independence. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1700 GMT 8 May 85 MB]

ITALIAN FOOD AID--In Maputo today Mozambique and Italy signed accords on an annual program on food aid in the context of cooperation between the two countries. Italy will give our country 10,000 metric tons of rice, 400 metric tons of sardines, 180 metric tons of cheese and 120 metric tons of processed soup. Home Trade Minister Aranda da Silva, who signed the accords for Mozambique, praised our economic development. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1700 GMT 8 May 85 MB]

NAMIBIA

#### BRIEFS

SWATF REPORTS SWAPO CASUALTIES—The security forces in northern South—West Africa/Namibia have killed 11 SWAPO terrorists in skirmishes in the past 2 weeks. The officer commanding the SWATF, Major General George Meiring, said the security forces had suffered no losses. Gen Meiring said in a statement to Radio RSA that there had been a clear decrease in SWAPO activities in the past 2 weeks. He also said it seemed SWAPO was scaling down its annual rainy season offensive. Gen Meiring said SWAPO insurgents were still being encountered in the operational area, but the security forces were achieving major successes in action against them. He said that since the beginning of the year, 249 SWAPO terrorists have been killed. [Text] [Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 26 Apr 85 MB]

NICERIA

#### BRILLES

NIGERIANIZATION OF SWISS COMPANIES—Swiss companies operating in Nigeria have been told to Nigerianize their management positions. The idea is to put an end to the present practice of asking for expatriate quota for jobs that qualified Nigerians can perform. The minister of national planning, Chief Michael Adigun, made the demand in Lagos while exchanging views with the Swiss ambassador to Nigeria, Mr Alfred Ruegg. He commended the efforts of Swiss companies operating in Nigeria but said that they should go into manufacturing instead of making finished products. Chief Adigun told the ambassador that investment opportunities abound in the country in spite of the present economic (?crisis), pointing out that many companies have been recording high dividends. The minister also asked Switzerland to buy more Nigerian goods to effect a balance of trade with Nigeria. Dr Ruegg informed the minister that there was a growing interest by Swiss nationals to do business with Nigeria. He assured the minister that his country would strive to achieve a well-balanced trade with Nigeria. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 1500 GMT 4 Apr 85 AB]

VICTIMS TO BE COMPENSATED—Appropriate actions are being taken to compensate victims of the recent antiaircraft test firing exercise in Lagos. The exercise resulted in the loss of lives and damage to property. In a statement in Lagos today, the Nigerian Air Force said that reports of an investigation conducted confirmed some of the reported incidents. Again, the Air Force expressed regret over the incident and said that the statements on them credited to the chief of air staff, Air Vice Marshal Ibrahim Alfa, by a newspaper was erroneous. It gave an assurance that more efforts would be made in future exercises to avoid such accidents. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 2100 GMT 4 Apr 85 AB]

YUGOSLAV ASSISTANCE PLEDGED--Minna, 6 Apr (NAN)--The Yugoslavian ambassador to Nigeria, Mr Ramadan Marmulaku has pledged his country's assistance to the Nigerian Government in its economic development programmes. He said during a courtesy call on the state commissioner for health and social development, Dr Musa Inuwa, on Thursday, that his visit would help him to explore avenues of cooperation between Yugoslavia and Nigeria. Earlier, the commissioner called on Yugoslavia to assist the state, especially in health services. [Text] [Lagos NAN in English 1314 GMT 6 Apr 85 AB]

COMMENTS ON GHANA-BURKINA MERGER--The DAILY TIMES comments on the proposed merger of Burkina Faso and Ghana. It believes that the plan may be no more

than counting one's chickens before they are hatched. The paper recalls numerous attempts by Libya to unite with her neighbors and their usual failures. One significant factor in the current merger efforts, says the paper, is the special friendship between Ghana's leader, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, and his counterpart, Captain Thomas Sankara. However, the paper is of the view that the very personal friendship between the two men could be the greatest weakness in the merger plan. The DAILY TIMES says that for such measures to be credible and capable of standing the tests of time, they need to go beyond and mean more than the excellent personal relationship of their founding fathers. The paper therefore calls on both leaders to bring the people of the merging states together in every conceivable field. According to the TIMES, only then will these measures forge an everlasting inter-people friendship and meaningful unity. [Text] [From the press review] [Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 8 Apr 85 AB]

REDUCTION IN ARMY URGED—The CUARDIAN emphasizes the need for a reduction in the size of the Nigerian army. It states that the economy is not in the right shape to sustain a large army. It is therefore in view of this problem that the GUARDIAN offers two options that may be of help. First of all, the paper suggests that the army should pursue a more vigorous, but more meaningful policy of demobilization aimed at making the remaining men quicker, better-trained and well armed. Secondly, the GUARDIAN feels that in the absence of finances for heavy investment in military technology, soldiers can be redeployed to other productive economic ventures like agriculture. The paper is optimistic that the nation will benefit a lot from a disciplined participation in agricultural extension by the army. [Text] [Press review] [Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 11 Apr 85 AB]

REJOICING OVER NUMAYRI OVERTHROW—The NATIONAL CONCORD rejoices with the people of the Sudan over the recent overthrow of President Ja'far Numayri. The paper points out that the joy is heightened when one considers the fact that Numaryi's policies, during most of his 16-year rule, were mostly to the detriment of the masses. It meant that the former Sudanese leader's acceptance and implementation of the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and World Bank conditions on devaluation and withdrawal of all subsidies, especially on food, were the last straw. The much-expected and glorious end to the Numaryi government, the paper feels, should serve as an example of all Third World tyrannical regimes on the dangers of self-perpetuity in power, and with that, the CONCORD advises the new government to act in the interest of the Sudanese workers, whose revolution enabled the army to seize power. [Text] [Press review] [Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 12 Apr 85 AB]

JAPANESE RESEARCH BOAT GIFT--A new boat, MV (Sakin Baka), was today donated to Nigeria by Japan for the Nigerian Institute of Oceanography and Marine Research. The Japanese Government also seconded a marine engineer and a master fisherman to the vessel for 2 years to train their Nigerian counterparts. The boat is a 42-meter (?tow and line) vessel with a (?goods) tonnage of 272. The Japanese ambassador to Nigeria, Mr Wataru Mayakawa, formally presented the vessel to the representative of the minister of education, science and technology. [Except] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 2100 GMT 16 Apr 85 AB]

SYCOPHANTIC TRADTTIONAL RULERS CRITICIZED—The NATIONAL CONCORD supports a recent advice by the former director general of the Nigerian Security Organization [NSO], Alhaji Umaru Tsinkafi, that traditional rulers should be less sycophantic while commenting on national issues. The paper agrees with the former NSO boss, adding that traditional rulers have been quick to praise each successive administration only to condemn it at its downfall. The CONCORD is of the opinion that traditional rulers should find more permanent ways of making their institutions more positively relevant to national goals, development, and progress. The paper believes that they can obtain this through an active identification with good desires and aspirations of their people. The paper advises that natural rulers should never for a moment ignore their duties to the people and the nation at large. The CONCORD, on a final note, states that history has proven that sycophancy by an interest groups cannot sustain a government. [Text] [From the press review] [Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 17 Apr 85 AB]

COMMENTS ON ALIENS' EXPULSION--Illegal aliens in Nigeria have been given until 10 May to leave the Nigerian territory. This is the decision made by the Nigerian Government within the framework of its policy of economic reorganization and redress. Let us point out that this a sovereign decision upon which no one has commented yet outside of Nigeria. However, if we refer to a similar decision made by former President Shehu Shagari some months before the fall of his regime, one can make some observations. Under the civilian government, the hunt for the numerous illegals had some unfortunate and nefarious effects on the good image of this Lotherly country, rightly regarded as the giant of [passage indistinct] The decision to drive away non-Nigerians from the territory of our western neighbor is likely to take some victims among Chadians, to the satisfaction of the Ndjamena group which has continued to make underhanded deals in order to cause Nigeria to expel the Chadian refugees. For its part, the GUNT [Transitional National Union Government] intends to intervene directly or indirectly on behalf of our brothers living in that country. [passage indistinct] [Text] [(Clandestine) Bardai Chadian National Radio in Frency 1800 GMT 17 Apr 85 AB]

RELATIONS WITH CAMEROON--The (?souring) relationship between Nigeria and Camer-Cameroon engages the attention of the PUNCH. Apart from the border disputes between the two countries, says the paper, the recent Cameroon's Lango Dam project is threatening the livelihood of some Nigerian citizens. The paper believes that with a little more cooperation and understanding, the two nations can put a stop to the unpredictable and unproductive nature of their relationship. It thinks that a permanent commission between both nations may be the right panacea. The PUNCH equally urges the Federal Government to take the initiative and end this unpredictable relationship with Cameroon. [Text] [From the press review] [Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 20 Apr 85 AB]

LAND CLASH KILLINGS, ARRESTS—Abwa (Benue), 20 Apr (NAN)—The military governor of Benue, Brigadier Atom Kpera, yesterday ordered a judicual inquiry into the clash last Monday between Etulo and Mbagen communities in the Gboko local government area over a piece of land. During a visit to the disputed land at Abwa, Brigadier Kpera described the clash, which claimed four lives and left many houses burnt as "very unfortunate." He warned the people against taking

the law into their hands and appealed to them to maintain peaceful co-existence, urging those who had fled from the villages to return home. Armed policemen have been drafted to the area to forestall further clashes and maintain law and order. The police said that 42 persons had so far been arrested in connection with the incident. [Text] [Lagos NAN in English 1240 GMT 20 Apr 85 AB]

DIKKO ASYLUM REQUEST REJECTION—London, 21 Apr (NAN)—Fugitive Umaru Dikko has been refused political asylum by the British Government, the SUNDAY MAIL newspaper reported in London today. A Western Europe correspondent of the NEWS AGENCY OF NIGERIA (NAN) quotes the British weekly as saying "an announcement of Dikko's future is expected next month." The report, however, suggests that "if asylum is merely denied and a decision on extradition delayed," then the ex-transportation minister would have time to seek refuge in another country. According to the report, London does not want the Dikko issue to affect relations between Nigeria and Britain which have always enjoyed close commercial and diplomatic ties. The newspaper quoted the British Home Office as saying that Major Muhammed Yusif, jailed for his part in the abortive Dikko kidnap attempt in July, would be sent home. The report said that it was not yet clear whether the British Government would comply with Nigeria's request to have Dikko extradited to face charges in Lagos. [Text] [Lagos NAN in English 0710 GMT 22 Apr 85 AB]

FULL MEMBERSHIP IN UNDP--Nigeria has applied for full membership of the United Nations Development Program, UNDP. The country is currently only accorded an observer status in the organization. The minister of national planning, Chief Michael Adigun, made the request in Lagos while exchanging views with the new resident representative of the UNDP in Nigeria, Mr (Bunker Deniker). Chief Adigun called on the UN agency to utilize Nigerian expertise or consultancy services being undertaken in the country. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 2100 GMT 24 Apr 85 AE]

DEMONSTRATIONS AT IBADAN POLYTECHNIC--The Ibadan Polytechnic in Oyo State has been closed down following violent demonstrations by the students. The students were demonstrating against what they called inadequate water supply and electricity. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 25 Apr 85 AB]

NAVAL TECHNICAL SCHOOL--Speaking yesterday in a Radio Nigeria Lagos current affairs program, "Behind the Headlines," the chief of naval staff, Rear Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, said the navy was taking giant strides in the areas of personnel training and the provision of necessary facilities. These include the establishment of the naval technical school in sapele and the setting up of training for naval [words indistinct] at the professional training school at Apapa. There are also plans to convert the Sapele port to a logistic base for the navy while work is progressing on the naval, dockyard being built at Victoria Island, Lagos. Rear Adm Aikhomu said on completion, facilities at the dockyard would be open to merchant ships as a means of earning revenue for the government. He said the Nigerian Navy, under the present circumstances, was adequately equipped for effective operations. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 29 Apr 85 AB]

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

## PLANNING SECRETARY HAILS COOPERATION WITH PORTUGAL

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 5 Apr 85 p 3

[Text] Sao Tome and Principe Minister of Plan Agostinho Rita ended his official visit to our country yesterday. During his stay he outlined the new economic coordinates of his government and had meetings with Portuguese businessmen.

Also yesterday Agostinho Rita met with Secretary of State for Treasury Antonio de Almeida. The Sao Tomean official defended intensified cooperation between the two countries, indicating the total readiness of his government in this connection, since there are "mutual benefits." In the talks he had day before yesterday with Secretary of State for Cooperation Eduardo Ambar, the Sao Tomean government leader stressed the fact that his country is emphasizing the role of private business, and he defined the farm and industrial sectors and the transportation and tourist infrastructures as priority areas for foreign investments.

Other important sectors, such as domestic and foreign trade, traditional fishing and the hotel and food industries were mentioned by Agostinho Rita.

These goals were also set forth during a meeting with the Portuguese Industrial Association (AIP). Among other aspects, Agostinho Rita discussed the installation of industrial units and the attractions Sao Tome offers for Portuguese investors.

The Sao Tomean planning official emphasized his country's interest in Portuguese investments, for reasons having to do with the atmosphere of confidence and cordiality based on historic links and the common language. In addition to this, he explained, there is increased interest because of Portugal's entry into the EEC.

5157 CSO: 3442/251

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

## SOVIET BASES REPORTEDLY INCREASING ON ISLANDS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 12 Mar 85 No 60 p 8

[Article: "A New Base for the Soviets in Africa: Moscow Strengthens the Sao Tome and Principe Archipelago"]

[Text] The rumors that have been circulating for a year of a build-up of the former Portuguese islands of Sao Tome and Principe on the western coast of Africa have been now confirmed by Western intelligence services. Some time ago, the well-informed AIDA PARKER NEWSLETTER of Johannesburg reported the details of this strategically important new Soviet base. As early as the Falkland war in 1982 they monitored the entire South Atlantic and kept it under surveillance from there. The Pentagon, as well as the military circles in Pretoria, is watching the build-up of military installations and the increasing number of Eastern Bloc advisers on the islands with increasing uneasiness. The islands are roughly 960 kilometers away from Angola.

The continuous military successes of UNITA in Angola constitute a serious danger for the Soviet supply bases in Luanda. As a counterbalance, according to Western sources, Moscow is now building a radar station on Mont Cafe on Sao Tome that is manned exclusively by Soviets. At the same time reports are being examined about the numerous natural bays being expanded for Soviet submarine bases. The number of Eastern Bloc advisers on both islands is estimated to be between 2,000 and 3,000 men, of whom about 300 are Russians, roughly 1,000 are Cubans (who are being trained for the protection of the Angolan Cabinda oil enclave and are being regularly replaced), approximately 700 are East Germans, with a smaller number of North Koreans as well. They are training Angolan special units, who are barely 4,000 men strong. Moreover, there are supposed to be some Poles on the islands as well, acting as agricultural advisers.

## Replacement for Luanda

In case the Angolan UNITA resistance movement should succeed in capturing Luanda or if, through diplomatic negotiations between the U.S. and South Africa, there should be a favorable solution to the Namibian question for the West or if, for instance, the Dos Santos government in Angola should move away from its course loyal to Moscow, the Kremlin would lose an important logistics port from which that monitors the southern Atlantic. During the Falkland war,

Soviet TU-95 airplanes from there maintained surveillance on the British ships on their way to the Ascension Islands. After the loss of Grenada, where the airport's landing strip was built by Cubans and where Cuba could refuel its military transports on the way to Angola, the expansion of Sao Tome's airport for large capacity aircraft takes on greater importance.

The geostrategical position of both islands, since Guinea has reached reconciliation with the West and closed its airport in Conakry to the Soviets, is especially important for surveillance of sea routes. At the same time, the Soviets could keep check on all the shipping routes on the West African coast; that is to say, they could monitor access to the oil producing countries of Nigeria, Gabon, Cameroon, the Congo, and the Angolan oil enclave at Cabinda, as well as the route of the large tankers from the Gulf on their way to Europe and the U.S.A.

# Disappointed by the Kremlin

Since its independence in July 1975, the government of President Manuel Pinto da Costa was regarded as the most Marxist-Leninist leaning regime of the five former Portuguese colonies in Africa. The islands, 964 kilometers square, has a population of 95,000 people (descendants of black slaves and Southern Europeans who had settled there in the 16th and 17th centuries) that lives mainly by cultivating cocoa. It brings in 90 percent of the foreign currency. Da Costa, whose reelection is not in doubt this year, does not seem adverse, according to information from Washington, to an economically lucrative policy of rapprochement to the West, similar to the one President Samora Machel carries out in Mozambique. Thus, diplomatic relations with Washington were established in February; the U.S. is paying one million dollars in economic aid every year. The President, according to confidential reports, is increasingly disappointed and embittered with his friends in the Kremlin, who have transformed the islands into a Soviet colony. According to Preteria, the State Department sets some hopes on this.

12521 CSO: 3420/50

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

#### BRIEFS

JOINT ENTERPRISES CREATED -- The new secretary of state for cooperation, Dr Eduardo Ambar, revealed that joint enterprises have been established in Sao Tome to engage in agricultural operations. One is the Luso-Sao Tomense Ramalho Rosa-Milagrosa joint enterprise of Sao Tome, which is going to engage in cocoa and coffee-growing. At the same time, the government of Sao Tome and Principe, which was recently reshuffled and includes many friends of Portugal, agreed to negotiate with the World Bank and, with the support of that international institution, Portugal and France, enterprises called "Management Funds" are going to be established to engage in agricultural projects. Portugal has also intensified its relations with Cape Verde recently and our country has decided to unblock a 1984 appropriation for the Praia port project and has also decided to import bananas from that country, which has made the best impression on the Cape Verdean Government. In May, Dr Eduardo Ambar will go to Cape Verde where he will inaugurate a district for cooperation aides, a cultural center in Mindelo and a Portuguese book fair. Meanwhile, the study prepared by a British firm for the establishment of a Cooperation Bank designed to support the economic actions to be carried out by Portugal in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe has already been forwarded to the secretary of state for the treasury, Dr Antonio de Almeida. As is known, all of these countries, with the exception of Angola, already have foreign investment statutes, enabling us to consider the possibilities of our country applying investments there. [Text] [Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 22 Mar 85 p 40] 8711

CSO: 3442/245

SEYCHELLES

#### BRIEFS

NEW SAUDI AMBASSADOR ARRIVES -- The new ambassador of the Democratic Saharan Arab Republic to the Republic of Seychelles, Karid Ahmed Salek, presented his credentials to President René at State House yesterday morning. Based in Antananarivo, the new ambassador replaces Salek Bobbih, the ambassador since February 1983. Ambassador Karid Akmed Salek has participated in the Saharan Nationalist Movement since the 1960's and joined the ranks of the Polisario Front at its formation in 1973. Karid Akmed Salek was president of the Saharan Red Crescent from 1975 to 1976. He was a member of the Committee of External Affairs from 1976 to 1977 and was connected with the Cabinet of the Prime Minister of the Democratic Saharan Arab Republic from 1978 to 1980. Before being named ambassador to Seychelles, he was a professor at the "12 October" High School from 1980 to 1984. During his stay in our country, Ambassador Salek will maintain contact with the members of the Council of Ministers, and with the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, Mikhail Orlov, and other chiefs of mission based in Victoria. [Text] [Victoria SEYCHELLES NATION in French 19 Mar 85 pp 1,10] 12230

CSO: 3419/359

## P. W. BOTHA'S SPEECH AT MORIA ASSESSED

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 14 Apr 85 p 4

[Article by Percy Qoboza: "And Now, Why Not Take the PW to the Prison?"]

[Text] Come on, don't be despondent, I thoroughly enjoyed the Moria show.

It's clear that while PW Botha's body was towering before all those millions in the sweltering heat, his soul was wandering off somewhere in Washington and London-showing all those non-believers that he has his act together with black people in this country.

And what a show it turned out to be.

Being conscious of the old tradition of the "volk" not to indulge in political tantrums on the Sabbath, PW kept it all on the brotherly love trail.

It was not a bad attempt--considering the temptations of using the platform to advance some well-known causes.

With the generosity to supply PW with the exciting platform, young Barnabas Lekganyane carried on a family tradition of enchanting the SABC, which has been ecstatic over the whole affair.

But then the show had its light moments, if you were observant.

The clapping of hands every time a sentence was completed had an unreal air around it. Sometimes the clapping came before the sentence was even completed.

You may have noticed that this led to embarrassing moments. At one stage, it seemed PW was taken aback when he said: "I want to give you this assurance today..."

Before the assurance was spelt out, the clapping resounded!

I am not suggesting that the clapping of hands was stage-managed, but it all just looked so much like a fairy tale.

Another observation.

Having covered the Moria City annual jaunt for many years, there was something missing.

You see, the folk down there don't show their delight at what is said by clapping hands only.

They always—but always—show it by vociforous ululating. And the shrills add to the aura of the proceedings.

But nobody ululated. It was a deafening clapping of hands.

Anyhow, don't mind me. It's just my suspicious mind in act'on.

Now look at the bright side. Since PW addressed a real black audience and the heavens did not fall in, he can now confidently take the bull by the horns and move to Pollsmoor jail and talk to Nelson Mandela.

He has my assurance that a Mandela in a prison cell is worth three million clapping Zionists.

After all, many South Africans did not miss PW's plea: "Let us begin to talk to each other."

Indeed, let us.

It's for him now to transform good intentions into practical action. This country, now more than ever before, is crying out for a message—and action—of hope.

The SABC--save their blundering souls--reported with glee this week how a US newspaper editor announced on American television that Bishop Desmond Tutu did not have a constituency among black people in South Africa.

Now how would an American editor have that type of information? I rather suspect he has been having too many lunches at the South African embassy in Washington.

What he--and so many people who think like him--fail to understand, is that the bishop is not in the popularity stakes.

He is a man anointed as a minister of the church, with a religious mission to perform.

His constituency is God's children, who he was elected to serve.

When he makes the pronouncements based on moral principles, he must not be seen as making political statements—but rather as giving moral judgments on political issues.

Far too many people treat Bishop Tutu as if he was a politician with intense political ambitions.

Well, I have news for them.

When the real people's parliament eventually comes into being--as it will--his only contribution will be to officially open it with a prayer. His absence in the Members of Parliament benches will be conspicuous.

What's more, if a black Prime Minister did things that contradict the scriptures, I have a sneaking suspicion Bishop Tutu will tell him about it loudly and clearly.

DAILY MAIL EDITORIAL VIEWS POLITICAL, PRESS CLIMATE

MB301116 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 30 Apr 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Go In Peace"]

[Text] This is the final issue of THE RAND DAILY MAIL. Our final message is brief and simple: Go in peace.

Rooted in South Africa, committed for more than a quarter of a century to justice and prosperity for all, the MAIL has never lost its unshakeable belief that this country can be great and good.

The belief persists. But it is being undermined by the endemic violence in our society, the bitterness that is poisoning the human soil. The race is to see whether there will be enough reform to outstrip the anger that failure to reform generated.

Attacked for disloyalty when it criticized the narrow norms of a Nationalist Government bent on a suicidal policy, the MAIL has lived at least to see some vindication of its uncompromising stand.

The most important thing about the present cautious moves to reform is that they acknowledge one central truth: apartheid is an admitted failure.

That is the State President's single most important contribution to progress, and it should not be minimized. Neither should it be exaggerated. There is a long way to go.

The debate will be heated--or at least we hope it will be.

It must take place as openly as possible. Cozy chats behind the scenes are no substitute.

At the moment there is not, as the State President would have it, a healthy shift to a new South Africanism. Would that there were. But there can never be when four-fifths of the population grows increasingly alienated. Rather, there is a dangerous shift toward a laager. Blacks could easily see it as a ganging-up.

In this climate a great onus rests on newspapers. With the passing of the MAIL a vigorous voice of dissent has been stilled. The gap that the MAIL will leave is immense. The quality and range of available news will diminish. The proportion of Nationalist newspaper voices goes up, with consequences for the whole structure of news dissemination.

Pressures to conform will increase: "Look at the awful fate that befell the MAIL...."

No other newspaper can immediately take the MAIL's place. Down the years it was a pathfinder—and a lightning conductor. Other newspapers will be obliged to assume the role of scapegoat. The going will be tough, and white public sentiment possibly less than supportive.

There are fine journalists and newspapers that are ready to meet the challenge--if they are allowed to. The litmus test is simple: if voices grow muted then the country will be going backward.

We who have loved this newspaper, and worked joyously on it, take our leave of you now, in trepidation and in hope.

PAPER EXPRESSED FEARS OVER CONTINUING VIOLENCE

MB081430 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 1 May 85 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text] The two bomb blasts that went off in the heart of Johannesburg's financial world will send shock waves throughout the country and right across the world.

The houses of Anglo American and Anglo Vaal are known worldwide. They are also respected in the corridors of power in almost all financial centres of the world. With that type of record it is devastating to have the spotlight put on them in this fashion.

It may just be the miner's dilemma that led to the blasts being set off. If not, then the plight of those thousands of workers whose fate is in the balance has been placed firmly on the agenda.

The fact that the bombs were timed to go off when people were absent from the buildings and the streets is a sure indication that this was a political statement. Whoever was responsible made a most effective impact.

It is also perhaps significant that the bombs went off at this time when the country is in a state of grave violence. If the blasts have done anything at all, they have brought notice to those who wield considerable power, financially and otherwise, that we are going through very serious times.

Blacks have a sense of the gravity of the situation. There is hardly a day when there is no eruption of violence in the black townships. There are some commentators who believe we are building a sub-culture of violence. This becomes particularly true as regards school children. Violence is becoming chronic. Not only that, many blacks are beginning to accept such violence as part of their lives. The problem is confined to black townships but it will inevitably spill over.

But once the targets become visible objects of wealth and perhaps capitalism, then the result is even more unsettling. There is no doubt that the country's sense of optimism takes a hammering at a time that we need to be confident. As things are, even countries that are normally cordial with South Africa are mounting campaigns attacking the country. This will have a significant effect on our finances.

And as if that is not enough, we have problems on the mines and on other job centres. It really seems to give substance to the adage that it never rains but pours.

We need, however look for a glimmer of light in all this darkness. The bomb blasts have not only put the plight of mine workers on the map, but they must certainly shake South Africa's leaders.

We are rather afraid that unless something is done, and quickly, this violence will become uncontainable. Already the children of the townships are depending more and more on the use of force and violence to press their case.

The problem has to be addressed by parents, by the business community, by other lobbies inside and outside the township and most importantly by the police. The police are very touchy about being attacked, as is everybody else. But it does seem odd that school children can be allowed to develop this spate of violence into something almost organized without the police seeming to do anything about it.

#### COMMENT ON POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS

MB051014 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 5 May 85 p 25

[Comment by University of Stellenbosch Philosophy Professor Willie Esterhuyse]

[Text] A new feature of the South African political scene is the view that our political future should be decided at the negotiating table.

Various groups, parties and people differ on mechanisms, procedures, priorities and participants, but the general consensus is that decisions relating to the future of blacks should not be a "whites only" affair.

This attitude was reflected by the state president in his opening speech to Parliament.

It is understood by the energetic endeavours of the minister of constitutional affairs to establish dialogue.

It has materialized quite dramatically in the way in which the crossroads dilemma is being dealt with. Bulldozing techniques of the past have been shelved and negotiated agreements hammered out.

This change in attitude, albeit still in embryonic form, is a far cry from the not too distant past.

Conditioned to act unilaterally and to regard white power and privilege as sacrosanct, not many whites are equipped with the skills of bargaining, negotiation and conflict management.

These skills are not acquried in a day or learned from circulars and 1-hour seminars. It is moreover a hard fact that not everyone can be a negotiator.

Does a positive climate for enhancing the prospects of meaningful negotiation exist in our country?

In some respects we have reason for cautious optimism. The state president, some of his ministers and black leaders like Chief Buthelezi should get credit for this.

In other respects the negotiating climate is inhibited by some very serious factors.

Foremost among these is the level of distrust among many blacks about the intentions of the government.

There are several reasons for this state of affairs.

- -- The perception among blacks that local authorities are alternatives to full citizenship rights.
- -- The devastating effect influx control measures and pass laws had on black perceptions.
- --The time-lag between announcements aimed at improving conditions and defusing conflict, and the implementation of these announcements. A good example is the 99-year leasehold scheme.
- --The experience of relative deprivation, strengthened by the present economic recession, and the perception among many blacks that our economic system represents the economic face of apartheid and separate development.
- --The perception that the negotiation agenda does not include the dismantling of apartheid, but has as its hidden agenda the goal to provide apartheid with a more acceptable face through the co-option of blacks into the system.

These factors make it extremely difficult for black leaders with clout to publicly participate in the process of negotiation.

The negotiating environment is furthermore inhibited by important features of so-called "white political culture."

Foremost among these are the white fears of black majority rule.

These are strengthened by radical rhetoric, unrest and violence in black townships, the activities of the ANC and international pressures.

Another inhibiting factor, coupled to the economic recession, is the presence of the Conservative Party and the inroads it could make into the power base of the National Party.

In a polarized and politically fragmented society like South Africa, the exercise of confidence building and creation of trust is extremely difficult, delicately balanced between conflicting interests and very vulnerable.

It needs a dual strategy--private contacts on a fairly broad leadership level between relevant parties and persons and changes which improve the daily lot of people and which underscore in concrete terms the good intentions of the authorities.

As far as the latter is concerned, a scrapping of influx control measures and pass laws will certainly be an important bridge across the existing gap of trust.

Moreover, it should not be substituted by other control measures which regulate the urbanization of blacks.

What is needed is a policy framework by means of which urbanization can be managed instead of being controlled and regulated.

The allocation of freehold title rights and the removal of restrictions on the development of the informal sector and informal housing will also enhance the building of confidence and trust.

It could be argued that some of these issues should be part and parcel of the negotiating agenda and should not be decided on by the government unilaterally.

This argument has some merit, provided it does not lead to a prolonged process of implementation and that the end result will get the support of black leaders.

It should be kept in mind that the end results negotiated on issues like influx control will determine whether there will be credible black leaders who are willing to participate in negotiations on constitutional and other issues.

It should furthermore be emphasized that blacks have a significant role to play in fostering a more positive climate for negotiation.

Radical rhetoric, unrealistic claims, uncompromising attitudes and acts of violence are detrimental to the spirit of reform and a positive negotiating climate.

They generate fears and rightwing backlash and contribute to the further entrenchment of traditional positions.

What is needed is a scaling down of claims and views. And this is most certainly not a "whites only" affair.

Another critical question is with whom to negotiate. Past experience makes it clear that whites can neither select with whom to negotiate, nor create a negotiating leadership through imposed institutions.

The decision about whom their leaders are, is the prerogative of blacks.

Some blacks argue that real negotiations are out of the question because most of their leaders are either banned or in prison, and their organizations declared illegal.

The UDF and Azapo, representing divergent black opinion, are for various reasons also not interested in talks and negotiations at this stage. In a nutshell: negotiating partners are not easy to find nor willing to come to the fore.

This makes it all the more necessary for those willing to participate at this stage to achieve some tangible results.

If they remain with empty hands, they will become complete outcasts.

Negotiations should obviously include elected political leaders of the likes of Chief Buthelezi and others.

They represent an important segment of black opinion and the view that the ANC is the only and real representative of blacks is arrogant nonsense.

Besides elected political leaders, the black community comprises many organizations, unions, institutions and people of influence.

Preliminary negotiations should include them for they are in a position to jeopardise even the most generally acceptable outcome of negotiations if their co-operation is not involved. To ignore them or, even worse, to try to discredit them, will be utter folly.

In a politically fragmented environment, negotiations should take place over the broadest possible spectrum. If they do not, negotiations inevitably strengthen the forces of polarization and alienation, which in turn will lead to the erosion of the power-bases of those participating.

If the aim of negotiations is to establish relative peace and support for negotiated agreements, negotiations cannot be restricted to traditional and elected political leaders only.

They should include charismatic leaders, community leaders, leaders of organizations with influence and opinion-makers.

To be more specific: If ways and means can be found to mediate the participation of, for instance Inkatha, the UDF, the South African Council of Churches, the Tutus and Motlanas, it would be a major step in the attempt to establish avenues towards a just society.

Sustained efforts, especially on the informal level, should be made to mediate their participation.

Reasons for not being prepared to participate at this stage should be taken seriously and could provide the agenda for initial talks.

In this respect it should be emphasized that the groundwork for negotiations is not a responsibility of government alone.

One of the fallacies is the tendency to expect everything from the government. The success of negotiations depends admittedly to a large extent on initiatives taken by government. It should, however, be bolstered by talks and dialogues across the whole spectrum of our society.

The involvement and participation of our society's opinion-makers in the process of dialogue and the establishment of confidence and trust are neessary conditions for a democratic process of negotiations.

The negotiating framework poses another serious problems. Should it be a national convention, and informal forum or something else?

Blacks generally feel strongly in favour of national convention. The National Party is against it.

This provides a very serious obstacle to meaningful negotiations. The Special Cabinet Committee, recently enlarged to include members of the opposition, made some headway. Its general acceptance by blacks, however, was limited because it was regarded as part and parcel of the "system."

The idea of an informal forum was also not greeted with much enthusiasm. But significant forum talks did take place and are continuing.

Given black reactions, and they should be taken seriously if we are sincere about negotiations, the Special Cabinet Committee and the idea of an informal forum obviously does not supply the final answer to a negotiating framework.

While these moves by government should not be discarded—the forum, for instance, provides the opportunity to hold informal and confidential talks, thus preparing the ground for further initiatives—I believe that a formal negotiating body should be given serious thought.

It should, moreover, be one of the points on the agenda of preliminary negotiations.

A national convention should not in principle be excluded, but is equally an item to be negotiated. A possible compromise would be the institution of a Constitutional Task Force.

Negotiations eventually revolve around issues like objectives, goals and bottom lines. Suffice to say that these issues imply that we should not expect too much too soon.

MAURITIUS OFFERS TAX BAIT TO SOUTH AFRICA

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Apr 85 p 4

[Article by Kerry Clarke]

[Text]

THE Mauritian effort to approach equilibrium in its trade with South Africa is ahowing results. Its new trade office has succeeded in encouraging a South African tea company to use the island as its export base.

tea company to use the island as its export base.

Trade is heavily in SA's favour. South Africa exports R50-million of goods to Mauritius annually and imports only R2-million worth

ports only R2-million worth of Mauritian products.

Mauritius hopes the appointment of a trade representative in Sandton and an agreement which eliminates or reduces import duties on Mauritian products entering SA will reduce the deficit.

The bait for foreign investors is investment incentives which include tax relief. Trade representative Jean-Michel de Senneville says an increasing number of SA investors are considering Mauritius as a manufacturing and export base.

# Exemption

Mr de Sennevile is promoting the Mauritian export-processing zones which offer exemption from import duty on machinery, equipment, spere parts, raw materials, components and semi-finished goods. Companies operating

in these zones are also exempt from tax on income derived from exports for the first 10 years.

Dividends paid by exporters are tax-free for five years, and the export companies are allowed free repatriation of capital, profits and dividends with the approval of the Bank of Mauritius.

The number of companies operating in these export sones increased from 138 in January 1984 to 200 in December

The largest export from Mauritius to South Africa is textile products, and the island ranks as the third-largest exporter of woollen knifwear in the world. Other products which Mauritius believes it could export to South Africa are food, watches, cut and polished precious stones, flowers, fishing tackle, lenses, sunglasses and leather products.

SOVIET ARMS BUILDUP IN ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE DESCRIBED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Apr 85 p 13

[Article by Keith Abendroth]

[Text]

ANGOLA and Mozambique have in recent months become the focal points of a massive, Russian-sponsored buildup of sophisticated aerial hardware which could be moulded into a powerful force virtually overnight.

At the same time, according to unimpeachable intelligence sources, the two countries have completed a highly sophisticated radar network togive radar coverage from the west to east coasts on the Republic's border.

Latest information indicates that general military hardware supplies are being shipped in and that in air strength terms there are now more than 200 frontline fighter aircraft near the country's northern border.

Strategists say the buildup is continuing apparantly in blithe and total disregard of the peace inititives now in the pipeline.

But at the same time, they point out that this is in accordance with Soviet theory and practice — to use an occasion like the present as a breathing space to build up capabilities.

SA Air Force headquarters in Pretoria yesterday declined to comment on a mass of authoritative detail about the buildup of aircraft, radar and anti-aircraft hardware

But a spokesman added: "We are watching the situation."

The buildup, it is learnt, has reached a peak following a steadily increasing tempo of deliveries over the past 18 months.

Between October last year and the start of this year alone there was a massive buildup of fighter and offensive aircraft in Angola and Mozambique. Radar cover of a highly sophisticated nature is such that it covers borders of the four neighbouring Black States.

On the anti-aircraft front, a significant factor, according to strategists, is a high level of standardisation.

Angola and Mozambique can now boast particularly powerful emplacements of a range of deadly SAM missiles, including highly mobile variations.

Intelligence sources also report the deployment of deadly four-cannon ZSU 23-4 mobile units, the same marques which gave the Israelis endless headaches.

In Angola, it is learnt, specific battle aircraft buildups include an in crease in SU-22's, a swing wing machine which is recognised as a particularly good ground attack aircraft.

Confirmation of the buildup is also cotained in the authoritive pentagon publication, Soviet Military Power.

The latest edition notes that last year alone Mozambique took delivery of more MiG 21 "fishbed" fighters, increasing its force of them to at least 44.

In Angola operational MiG 23 fighters have increased substantially as well as M.G 21 s, dubbed "the AK 47 of the air."

The 21 compares, in the eyes of aircraft experts, very favourably with South Africa's own top fighter, the Mirage

In Angola buildup of strike aircraft has been increased by the acquisition of the deadly MI 25 helicopter gunships.

## TECHNOLOGY VITAL TO SA'S GROWTH

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Apr 85 p 8

# [Text]

THE executive director of the National Productivity Institute, Dr Jan Visser yesterday said one of the main reasons South Africa was not making the economic growth rate grade was a lack of a national technological policy.

He told a meeting of the International Association of Students in Economics and Management, in Pretoria the economic growth rate of the past decade was too low for the country's needs.

"Other countries chief-

ly rely on productivity growth to stimulate growth. But South Africa, on the contrary, has derived virtually no economic growth from improvements in productivity in the past 10 years," Dr Visser said.

"In fact in certain years our productivity has even made a negative contribution."

There were people who believed that South Africa should avoid high technology because they feared it might contribute to a reduction in job opportunities. "We must be-

ware of generalisations of this kind," he said.

What was needed was the kind of technology which would make South Africa move cost effective.

"In the final instance, what we want to achieve is exporting manufactured goods, and we will only be able to do this if we are cost effective.

"Technology is a key factor when it comes to cost effectiveness something we should never forget," he said.

DEFENSE BUDGET WILL INCREASE WHEN ECONOMY IMPROVES

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Apr 85 p 13

[Article by Brian Stuart]

[Text]

ALTHOUGH there has been a decrease in expenditure on Defence this year, the Government will increase expenditure again when the economy improves.

According to Government sources, the "realterm" cut in security spending is designed to give short-term economic relief at a time when State funds are stretched to the limit

"As soon as the economy has recovered, the Defence vote will have to be increased to ensure that the security commitments of the country will continue to be met."

Figures released by the Department of Defence show that while Defence Budget has climbed from R2 865-million in 1981 to R4 544 for 1985-86, or 58

percent over five years, measured against the Consumer Price Index this represents a decrease in real terms.

This year's Budget is nominally nine percent higher than last year's R4 154-million. However, taking into account the rise in the Consumer Price Index, it represents a real decrease of nine percent.

The downward trend is also reflected in Defence spending calculated as a percentage of all State expenditure.

From 18,2 percent of all State spending in 1977, the Defence Budget declined to 16,1 percent in 1982, 15,1 percent in 1983, 15,0 percent in 1984 and 13,9 percent for the current year.

Defence spending expressed as a percentage of State expenditure in various countries — the latest figures for 1983 —are: US 25,8, UK 19,7, Germany 19, France 18, SA 15,1 and Portugal 8,4.

South Africa's 1985-86
Defence Budget will be allocated to the services as follows: Army R1 918-million, Air Force R1 408-million, Medical Services R150-million and other expenditure R672-million.

The SADF Vote will be debated in the House of Representatives tomorrow, in the House of Delegates on Friday and the House of Assembly next month.

### FAMILIES AGREE TO MOVE FROM MATHOPESTAD

MB031712 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1800 GMT 27 Apr 85

[Text] One hundred and twenty-five of the 230 families living in Mathopestad, in the western Transvaal, have agreed to move to the newly established Mimosa Township of Rustenburg. The families made this decision after a group from Math visited the new township last week. Rusty van Druten went to both areas and compiled this report.

[Begin recording] Conditions are unhygienic, and even drinking water has to be purchased. There is not enough room for expansion, and there are no medical facilities [video showing people and facilities at Mathopestad]. But all these disadvantages are not seen as enough reason by many of the residents to move to the newly established Mimosa Township bordering on Bophuthatswana territory, north of Rustenburg. In all, there are 230 families here in Mathopestad which has been home to the tribe since 1912.

But now, 125 of these families have decided, after having visited the new area for the first time last week, that they are in fact prepared to move in the hope of a better future. They are ready to go immediately, but the infrastructure is not yet quite completed, and workers are hoping to finish off the last remaining tasks within the next 2 weeks. Meanwhile, there is still the problem of getting the cooperation of the remaining 105 families before any move can be made, as the government have said quite categorically that no move will be effected without the approval of the residents.

The new Mimosa site has everything necessary for a prosperous future. [Video shows facilities at Mimosa site, school, agricultural land.] With 2,000 hectares--900 more than Mathopestad--there is good potential for many forms of agricultural activity, and water is plentiful. There is a school with 16 classrooms, a clinic, and the very latest irrigation equipment for the lands. Place for 900 families has been prepared, and, sited only 20 km from large industrial and mining activity, there is plenty of work opportunity. We spoke to a few of the residents who have decided to move.

[Unidentified male] We get one bus a day, which runs from here to Rustenburg. Then, I have got many jobs to do with the office—and the office from here to Rustenburg, is about 70 km. So, if I cannot get a car nearby, I will be late for my duties at the office, and so on.

[School teacher Miriam Thekiso] I am very much satisfied about Onderstepoort, because the lands there are much bigger than this one and we will be able to get a place where we will plough, so that we can get something at the end of the year. And then, the land is fertile than this one. [As heard] We will be able to plant vegetables too. [End video]

AEC BANS RESTARTING KOEBERG

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by Neil Hooper]

[Text]

THE Atomic Energy Corporation (AEC) has banned Escom from restarting the Koeberg nuclear power station—closed down in January after faulty piping was discovered—until it is satisfied that the power station is "safe".

The estimated loss of revenue from the extended shutdown of the power station is likely to exceed R90-million before Koeberg is recommissioned.

The AEC clampdown on the plant was confirmed this week by both Escom and the Atomic Energy Corporation.

The Koeberg plant went off-stream in January this year after it was found that there were "iron inclusions" in an aluminium elbow joint of reactor unit number two.

An Escom spokesman said the commission

had applied to the AEC about a week ago for permission to restart the plant because it was "satisfied the plant meets the safety requirements for which it was designed".

The spokesman said, however, that the AEC had "requested that the inspection (of potentially faulty piping) be extended to a wider range of pipe fittings which serve the primary circuit, before approval for start-up can be granted".

Escom said that the additional requirements of the AEC included the "ultrasonic testing" of the plant's aluminium piping, and that this co-'ld take "a few weeks".

The Medical Officer of Health for Cape Town, Dr Reg Coogan, said yesterday that he was "very relieved" the AEC had taken "emergency steps" to stop the re-starting of the Koeberg plant until it was satisfied that the reactor met all safety requirements.

STAR URGES LIFTING OF 'CURTAIN' ON ANC

MB030859 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Apr 85 p 14

[Editorial: "Let the ANC out of the Shadows"]

[Text] From behind the legal curtain which keeps South Africans from knowing about the ANC comes an intriguing snippet of news. The WASHINGTON POST reported yesterday that Mr Oliver Tambo, head of the banned movement, is ready to meet white South African leaders to discuss a new democratic constitution. This thought is not new, but it was interesting that this time Mr Tambo did not mention several pre-conditions he had previously stipulated as essential before negotiation could begin.

Is the omission significant? Has the ANC' thinking changed under the pressure of recent events? Will it bargain over anything less than all-out majority rule? Such questions are more relevant than every as events in restive black townships daily remind South Africans of the bloody alternative to a negotiated sharing of power with the country's black majority. The ANC, though banned these 25 years, still commands the allegiance of most city blacks. It is part of the solution as well as part of the problem. Its aims and its strategies, the nature of its leadership and indeed of its precise following, should be the subject of a continuing debate among all South Africans, those in government and those deprived of a share in it.

Yet they are debarred from knowing about the ANC by tough security laws. These forbid quoting most ANC leaders (except by special permission, or sometimes in guarded roundabout terms) and set harsh penalties for promoting the movement's objectives—even though many of those objectives coincide with the perfectly acceptable political aims of white South Africans, including nationalists.

It is time to lift these restrictive laws. If they ever had any justification, it no longer exists in the rapidly evolving South Africa of the mod-1980's. There are laws enough to deal with violence and its incitement, but those which outlaw the ANC--plus numerous other bodies--and which silence their leaders should be scrapped. They stand between South Africa and the peaceable resolution of its conflicts.

PAPER SAYS BOTHA MUST TALK WITH ALL BLACK LEADERS

MB051058 Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 28 Apr 85 p 18

[Editorial: "A Fresh Start"]

[Text] Ever so tentatively President Botha is opening doors to a dialogue with blacks.

His announcement of a restructured National Forum was part of this process. So, too, was his dramatic encounter with two million black Christians at Moria City.

There are many other indicators of his health determinations with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi; the offer to free Nelson Mandela; the informal talks (hotly denied) with the African National Congress; Foreign Minister Pik Botha's confrontation with Bishop Desmond Tutu on the American TV programme, "Nightline," and the consultations between government officials and the squatters of Crossroads.

But the process is going to be difficult to maintain, for two reasons:

First, White Nationalism has a credibility gap to fill, a gap that has developed over the years because of the government's refusal to deal with the "real" leaders of Black Nationalism. Instead, it has pursued the homelands alternative and clung to the myth that a moderate middle-class will develop with whom it will finally be able to reckon.

Second, the refusal to accept Black Nationalism has been manifest in a "divide-and-rule" strategy that is paying all-too-successful dividends: black politicians are now so violently divided that the government can justifiably claim that it does not know with whom to deal.

It is a bitter and tragic harvest that the country reaps.

So-called black moderates live in fear of their lives and many have been slain by vengeful mobs. The very structure of the newly-created and relativelyenlightened local government system is collapsing.

Even moderates who may believe that the contacts with the government are necessary fear being dubbed "sellouts" and shelter behind a careful distancing

from officialdom or the adoption of the most radical standpoints possible to prove their commitment to the fight against oppression.

Black politics has slipped into a bewildering welter of violent chaos and differing viewpoints in a power struggle generally based on emotive radicalism.

Yet President Botha must persist. He must confront acknowledged leaders of all sections of the black community.

This means talking unconditionally to "internal" leaders such as Boesak and Buthelezi, Tutu and Motlana and it means doing so at any time, at any forum and on any subject.

It also means talking unconditionally to the "external" leaders such as the Mandelas (in jail if necessary) and the Tambos (in Lusaka if necessary).

It is time to write a fresh and bold chapter of political history in South Africa.

#### TRAINING OF RIOT SQUADS IN SOWETO ALLEGED

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 31 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Mudini Maivha]

[Text] A total of 117 recruits for the controversial township "riot squads" for various councils are being trained by the SA Police at a base in Soweto.

Training at the Tladi base started on January 18, and the recruits will pass out on May 15.

The township police, to be known as law enforcement officers after their training, may affect the SAP's manpower. With salaries described as "slightly higher" for the council cops, the SAP may find itself losing staff.

Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange's public relations office did not give CITY PRESS details of police salaries to compare with those offered by the councils because of Government policy.

The Dobsonville and Alexandra town councils are offering lucrative salaries for constables, sergeants, senior sergeants and warrant officers.

The breakdown will be constables: R2,691-R7,470 a year, sergeants: R6,846-R11,460, senior sergeants: R11,460-R16,020 and warrant officers: R15,450-R18,288.

At the end of the year they will receive a 12 percent increase.

"The salaries are slightly higher than those paid by the SAP," said Dobson-ville town clerk Anton Kuhn.

Diepmeadow has 26 men in training, but will need an overall force of 106 men. The Kagiso council has sent six men, and Dobsonville needs a complete staff of 55.

But council spokesmen and West Rand Development Board chairman John Knoetze said the officers will have the basic duty of "enforcing law and order."

They will not be "riot squads", as residents have termed them, he said.

The Alexandra town council's shopping list, which included riot combat equipment, led to demonstrations in the township.

"We don't want our police to be armed unnecessarily. We want them to be looked on as protectors and friends.

"They won't go around armed unless a situation calls on them to do so," said Diepmeadow PRO Don Manaka.

DISCUSSION OF PROPOSED SCIENCE CENTER UNDERWAY

Johannesburg MINING WORLD in English Mar 85 pp 20-21

[Excerpt]

The 1981 De Lange report on education in South Africa proposed the establishment of science centres as one means of enhancing interest in science and mathematics in this country. As a result, in February 1982, Professor W.J. van Biljon, then president of the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies of South Africa (AS&TS) and now the scientific counsellor in Bonn for the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) submitted a proposal for the establishment of a science and technology centre in Johannesburg, a 'living' museum where basic scientific principles would be illustrated in application to everyday life.

Discussion now taking place between the AS&TS and the National Sport, Recreation and Exhibition Centre (NASREC) should mean that former Crown Mines land, south of Johannesburg, will see the construction of a science and technology centre, unique to Southern Africa, well before the end of the decade. A committee appointed by the AS&TS and on which a representative of NASREC served, investigated the proposal and recommended to AS&TS that the AS&TS should proceed with a full scale feasibility study of the project. For this purpose a non-profit company is being registered by the AS&TS.

The proposed centre will be situated within the heart of the metropolitan cluster of the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area, the most industrially developed part of South Africa, and will be accessible to more than seven million people within a 50 km radius by the turn of the century. The favoured site adjoins the new showground of the Witwatersrand Agricultural Society, is 7 km southwest of central Johannesburg and 4 km east of Soweto, Johannesburg's black residential township. It is proposed that the centre will occupy 7 ha of a 270 ha site owned by NASREC. It would be one component of a larger NASREC scheme which includes a sports complex and stadium to accommodate 100 000 spectators, a theme park comparable to the Disney corporation's 'Six Flags' in the USA, though on a more modest scale, plus a hotel. hostels, restaurants, ample parking and all the attendant facilities required to make this development a major tourist attraction. In addition, the Agricultural Show Grounds will form part of this complex. The factors which made the site an excellent choice for NASREC also make it appropriate for the AS&TS science centre, namely, it is well served by the existing and proposed transport services, both public and private, and it is equitably located for access by all race groups.

The proposed centre will have the primary function of educating and interesting the public, particularly our youth, in science and technology while simultaneously entertaining them and exploiting natural human curiosity. Exhibits, which the committee hopes will be designed and built by industry, will be rotated on a regular basis and will be relevant to school curricula. Although the proposed centre will contain historical and classical elements associated with the traditionally accepted concept of a museum, the intention is to establish a living workshop where great achievements in science and technology can be highlighted. Exhibits will stimulate, motivate and ultimately educate visitors in pure science, applied technology, medicine and agriculture. Scientific endeavour, past, present and future, will be presented in a lively and down-toearth manner with emphasis on participation by the public.

Students in the Department of Architecture at the University of the Witwatersrand have been given a brief to produce ideas for the centre as a design project. It is likely a series of themes will be displayed, each theme telling the story of the science and technology involved in a particular industry or field of knowledge. There may, for example, be a science hall of exhibits in the academic disciplines, from physics to botany, chemistry, geology, zoology and the me allurgical sciences. Dispiays in an applied sciences hall would range over transportation, electronics, television, photographs and communications, among other topics. South

Africa's celebrated scientists and engineers would be honoured in a hall of the famous where particular milestones in science and technology will be highlighted. Changing and updating of exhibits would encourage repeat visits from the public. It is visualised that groups of students could conduct experiments under the supervision of trained instructors and that manufacturing facilities on a modest scale may be set up in specialised laboratories.

The size of the centre will obviously depend on the funds available. To establish some 17 000 m<sup>2</sup> of facilities, as is proposed, an investment of from R30 to R40 million might be needed. The project could be divided into participation 'packages' and promoted to the private sector in one major drive. South African industry could regard the proposed centre as an opportunity not only for promoting its own interests but also for exerting a much needed educational influence on our school-going population. Further benefits to participants will include market visibility, naming rights, product launching, and low cost venues for functions.

FIRST TENTATIVE STEPS TO FEDERATION NOTED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 23 Apr 85 p 8

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text]

PRESIDENT P W
Botha may have taken
a first hesitant step toward a federal solution
of South Africa's problems with his declaration in Parliament that
he was no longer committed to the policy of
dispossessing blacks of
South African citizenship when their designated "homelands" attain independence.

His annoucement coincided with an invitation to opposition parties to serve on the special Cabinet Committee examining how to meet the political aspirations of blacks living permanently outside their assigned "homelands."

The invitation was quickly accepted by the Leader of the Opposition in the white chamber, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, whose Progressive Federal Party is strongly committed to a federalism. It was similarly accepted by the tiny New Republic Party, whose policy partially embraces federalism.

Significantly, the invitation was spurned by Dr Andries Treurnicht's ultra-Rightist Conservative Party, which, as the heir of the Verwoerdian tradition of complete political separation between the races, is hostile to federalism as a form of racial power-sharing.

The upshot is that the inclination towards federalism in the special Cabinet Committee will be boosted by the participation of the PFP and the NRP without being countered by the influence of the CP.

Officially, of course, President Botha is committed to the formation of a confederation between South Africa and the "black homelands," all 10 of which are destined to become nominally independent in terms of the orginal blueprint drawn up by the high priest of "grand apartheid", Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

But confederation per defintion means an association between seperate sovereign states, each with their own citizenship. Mr Botha's statement, with its inference of a common citizenship for all South Africans, is clearly inimical to confederation.

Political re-ordering of relations between dominant whites and subordinate blacks within the framework of a common citizenship points towards a form of power-sharing within a single state, however much the ruling National Party may for political reasons try to camouflage that.

The NP itself acknowledged in a 1982 statement there can only be one central government for each territorial unit. As blacks living permanently outside their supposed "homelands" occupy the same territorial unit as whites, coloureds and Indians, they can, in terms of the NP's stated position, only be accommodated within government for that territory.

Given the NP's fear of black majority rule within a tightly centralised state, restructuring is likely to take place on a loosely linked federal model rather than within a unit representation

within a unitary paradigm. Two key factors appear to have impelled Mr Botha to take a guarded step away from confederation to federation: the collapse, under the pressure of rebellion in the townships, of black local authorities; and the adamant refusal of several key "black homelands" including KwaZulu with a resident population of 4-million, to accept Pretoria's offer of independence.

Established in 1983 under the Black Local Authorities Act, the new black township councils in white-designated South Africa were meant to serve as partial compensation to blacks for their exclusion from the new triracial parliament for whites, coloureds and Indi-

But, under relentless popular pressure in the townships, they have all but disintegrated. According to the latest official count more than 150 councillors have resigned. Several have been brutally murdered by black mobs. Of the 34 councils introduced in 1983, only five are still functioning according to the Urban Foundation.

As long as blacks are excluded from participation in central government, black local authorities will lack credibility and viability. Hence the need for change at the top of the political pyramid to provide a place for blacks and, thereby, to help bring an end to the ongoing rebellion in the townships.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, made just that point in an interview in Rapport at the weekend, in which he re-stressed that blacks will have to be given a say at all levels in decision-making affecting them.

The refusal of leaders of several key non-indepen-

dent "homelands" to acccept independence has confronted Mr Botha with an impasse in his quest to establish a confederation. Of these leaders, the most important is Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu. His followers account for a quarter of South Africa's of 24-million blacks.

But even leaders of the nominally independent "homeland" have expressed opposition to the conferation.

President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana has advocated the creation of a South African federation as the way to overcome the South Africa's problems.

Transkei's President Kaiser Matanzima is a signatory to a declaration by the South African Federal Union, an alliance of "homelands" opposed to apartheid.

The declaration set as its primary goal re-unification along federal lines between South Africa and its putatively independent home-

Chief Buthelezi, who heads the powerful Inkatha movement, has declared that he is prepared to accept a non-racial federation as a compromise solution between black hopes for, and white fears of, a strongly centralised state based on universal adult suffrage.

Significantly, Chief formers as Buthelezi and President Botha re-established mantation appropriate a hiatus of five years.

Their meeting should be seen in the context of the meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend between the Inkatha Youth Brigade and the Afrikaanse Studentebond, a pro-Government student union.

These developments have taken place amid reports that the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning is re-appraising the three-year-old Buthelezi Commission Report. The reports have been confirmed unofficially.

Published in 1982, the report recommended a form of power-sharing between black and white in the Kwa-Zulu-Natal region. Originally it was rejected by Mr Botha's administration. Now, however, it is under reconsideration.

Of equal relevance is a recent largely unpublicised meeting in Cape Town. between Mr Botha's chief constitutional architect, Mr Chris Heunis, and Chief Buthelezi. As Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Heunis, is chairman of the special cabinet committee investigating how to fulfil black aspirations.

As former university academics concluded in a recent analysis of the shift toward federation: "There is evidence that Natal-KwaZulu is being seen by many reformers as the laboratory for (new) units of representation appropriate to the second tier within a federalist scheme."

cso: 3400/93

SULLIVAN-TYPE CODE ADVOCATED FOR SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANIES

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 15 Apr 85 p 12

[Article by Paul Dold]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — The chairman of Pick 'n Pay, Mr Raymond Ackerman, has called for the introduction of a Sullivan-type code to monitor the performance of South African companies.

He has warned that the next 18 months will be critical if the business sector is to neutralise the disinvestment attacks from abroad.

In an interview, Mr Ackerman said a South African code monitored by a panel which included black leaders should be introduced as soon as possible.

Although initially opposed to the United States' Sullivan code, Mr Ackerman said the depth of monitoring, and progress made, had been impressive.

"I used to criticise the US companies but have recognised that the Sullivan companies have actually forced us all into many of the changes made over the last eight to 10 years."

The adoption of a local code would show overseas critics what was being achieved by South African businessmen.

Mr Ackerman said he had attended a series of top-level meetings with black leaders, explaining what was being done by business to oppose discrimination.

"We have found black leaders quite unaware of the progress being made. But the significant result is that dialogue is under way."

Black leaders had been asked to propose a programme which could be adopted by the private sector.

Mr Ackerman called for three-cornered negotiations between Government, business and black leaders.

"Government must involve business more — not as partners, but as part of a negotiating triangle.

"To my mind the disinvestment problem is more serious than people like to think.

"It is a very wide problem linked to the randdollar rate and the reces-

sion. There is no question that disinvestment has been helped by the rand's sharp drop.

"The profitability of many of the American companies here has been affected and their assets have fallen in value. With profits falling, US companies have clearly found difficulty in opposing disinvestment.

"We are looking at a so-called moral issue and a hard business issue. A number of people have told me that if business was good in South Africa there would be little question of disinvest-

Mr Ackerman, who believes businessmen, not politicans, will blunt the disinvestment campaign, said businessmen must accept the challenge. "We have to show ourselves and our people that business is leading the way. We have to clearly stand up in areas such as citizen rights and forced removals."

ALTECH ON BRINK OF ENTERING U.S. MARKET

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 21 Apr 85 p 8

[Article by Kerry Clarke]

[Text]

ALTECH, the recession-defying electronics group, has two big targets this year — to buy a US electronics company and to push sales above R1 000-million.

Turnover in the year to February was R410-million, so chief executive Bill Venter's sales target hardly lacks in ambition

lacks in ambition.

Mr Venter says that if negotiations for the purchase of an electronics company in the US succeed, the company will provide outlets for South African electronic products. Negotiations are at an advanced stage, and he is optimistic that the deal will be closed by the third week in May.

# Scepticism

Mr Venter says there is a reluctance in sophisticated foreign markets to accept South African high-tech products.

"There is some scepticism about whether a country on the southernmost tip of Africa can produce quality high-tech components.

"This is one of the main reasons we are considering acquisitions in the US. We want to provide a strong base of American outlets for our products. We will not try to sell our products surreptitiously — they will be sold under the Altech brand."

Altech has \$50-million in its pocket for its move into the US, but Mr Venter says the acquisition under negotiation will not require all the money

Altech's results show it will move into foreign markets off a strong base.

The company increased turnover by 34% to R410-million, and pre-tax profit rose 26% to R78-million.

The results were achieved in spite of a R10-million increase in tax payments and deferred orders of R50-mil-

With R84-million in the bank, Altech has cash enough to expand in the current year, and Mr Venter says it plans to open its fibre optic drawing and cable facility this year.

# Saving

Although Reunert's African Telephone Cables stole the lead by putting its fibre optic manufacturing facility into production early this year, Altech's acquisition of Aberdare Cables could give the company a boost Aberdare has links with Philips.

one of the world's top suppliers of fibre optic products

The Altron group's cable interests — Aberdare, Scottish Cables and Asea — will sell R230-million worth of products this year, about 40% of the SA market.

The cable companies will experience considerable rationalisation this year and Mr Venter expects to save R1,5-million as a result.

The cable industry is facing considerable over capacity, largely because of dumping from Europe and the Far East.

SA cable manufacturers are required by legislation to support SA industries for PVC and copper, and regulated prices in these industries result in the cable manufacturers paying far more for raw materials than their international competitors.

"This makes it almost impossible for us to compete with imports," says Mr Venter.

RENFREIGHT TURNOVER REPORTED AT 2 BILLION RAND

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 21 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by David Carte]

[Text]

BUDDY Hawton, chairman of Renfreight Holdings, took the wraps off his enormous shipping and travel company this week.

Renfreight, which came about after the merger between Rennies Shipping and Freight Services, will turn over R2 000-million a year.

Its taxed profit will be at least R20-million. The unlisted company has total assets of R150-million and shareholders' funds of R81-million. It employs 17 400 people and pays salaries and wages of R235-million a year.

Had the group been constituted in the five years to 1983, average compound earnings growth would have been more than 20% a year.

# Making up

The formation of Renfreight represented some reconciliation between Anglo American, which controlled Freight Services, and Old Mutual, controller of Rennies at the time. Anglo and Mutual were estranged by the Premier, JCI and Liberty grab of SA Breweries. Last week's deal between Southern Sun and Rensaf was further evidence of a thaw.

The main arms of Renfreight are marine services, forwarding transport and security and travel. The first two dominate shipping and forwarding in SA. The marine services division comprises:

- SA Container Depots which owns the City Deep container yard, the world's largest, and has a monopoly in unpacking containers, as well as Saftainer and Park-a-Tainer.
- The lucrative Maydon Wharf bulk terminal, which is the world's most modern multi-product terminal
- SA Stevedores, with market share exceeding 80%.

# Coal export

The forwarding division has an estimated 21% of export forwarding and handles most of SA's coal exports. It is already feeling the benefit of rising export volume.

The transport and service division owns Rent-a-Bakkle, Fidelity Guards and Rennies Electronic Security. It aims at a profit before interest and tax of R5,5-million.

tax of R5,5-million.

The travel division, comprising Thomas Cooke Rennies, has no less than 25% of the market and turns over R800-million. It is linked to 1800 Thomas Cooke offices worldwide and stands to gain if the big tourism marketing effort by Southern Sun, Sun International and Safren succeeds.

# **Property**

Mr Hawton says Renfreight has R90-million of property which will be sold and leased back to reduce debt. This will save R15-million in interest and reduce debt:equity to less than 15%. Even more dramatic on the fortunes of the group will be the effect of an economic improvement.

Asked whether Renfreight would be listed, Mr Hawton said: "Ic is certainly not under consideration, but once have a five-year track record, who knows? It will be entirely up to Safren."

#### COMMENTARY DISCUSSES ROLE OF ANC IN UNREST

MB301652 Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 30 Apr 85

[Station commentary: "The ANC"]

[Text] The nature of the ANC terrorist organization's activitics in South Africa has been spelled out by the country's minister of law and order, Mr Louis le Grange, and there can be no doubt that for any government, they would be intolerable.

Quoting from a broadcast on Radio Freedom in February, the minister said that the ANC had urged the black population of South Africa to make petrol bombs and other explosive devices, to buy or steal firearms, and to kill so-called collaborators of black councils, informers, and members of the police and defense force living in black areas. The organization had also called for the sabotaging of industries and farms. Urging the black population to make itself uncontrollable and ungovernable, the organization had said that mass protests were not enough, and that action should take the form of civil war.

These being the openly declared aims of the ANC, it is both the duty and the responsibility of the South African security forces to take whatever action is necessary to counter the threat.

For many years now, it has been the declared aim of the ANC and the South Africa Communist Party—the two organizations being one and the same thing—to overthrow the government by force. All attempts by the government to persuade the ANC to stop its terrorist activities have failed.

An offer made to ANC leader Nelson Mandela that he would be released from prison if he renounced violence was also turned down. Some time ago the ANC let it be known that it was not prepared to negotiate until the level of violence in South Africa had reached what it was in Rhodesia prior to the Lancaster House talks on Zimbabwean independence.

Since September last year, 216 black people and 1 white person have been killed in unrest in the country, and there have been millions of rands' worth of damage caused to property. Certain radical elements have taken the law into their own hands, and intimidation of black moderate leaders

has been rife, cruel, and savage. In the face of this onslaught, the government has let it be known that South African security forces will in future keep a high profile in the unrest area. And, indeed, it cannot do otherwise.

Black moderates in the country, who constitute by far the majority, need to be protected, and are demanding counteraction from the authorities.

#### COMMENTARY EXAMINES TRANSFORMATION OF RENAMO

MB261200 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 26 Apr 85

[Station commentary: "RENAMO"]

[Text] In southern Africa, characterized as it has been in the past decade by rapid and farreaching changes, the phenomenon of political movements undergoing fundamental transformations in their nature and goals is not unusual. But it is doubtful whether it has occurred anywhere more incongruously and with greater harm to the country concerned than it has in the case of the RENAMO [Mozambique National Resistance] movement of Mozambique in the past couple of years.

Certainly, no movement has switched so radically from a primary concern for the stable development of its country to a blind determination to destroy stability and development in its efforts to gain power. In its years of growth, RENAMO claimed with some justification to be a popular resistance movement. It merged and spread as a force chiefly in reaction to the misguided economic policies applied by the Frelimo government, and the subsequent traumatic deterioration of the determinants of the people's welfare, the provision of services, employment, and economic performance in general.

In due course, a new element was introduced, with the participation of embittered Portuguese colonials and businessmen whose interests had been affected by independence. Nevertheless, in that period, RENAMO, the MNR as it called itself then, was still essentially a movement deriving its support from the disillusionment of the people with the country's social and economic retrogressions. A significant proportion of its leadership actually consisted of disenchanted Frelimo officers. That concern for a return to stability and economic development, as events since the signing of the Nkomati Accord 13 months ago have demonstrated all too clearly, has disappeared.

Today, RENAMO is a rebel political movement in the classical Third World mold, out to seize power by force and pursuing that aim through strategy of destroying the very conditions it was originally designed to create. Whereas the Nkomati Accord might have supposed to be welcomed as a breakthrough toward the original aims, its effect instead was to act as a spur to increase destruction of productive resources. The escalation of attacks

on economic installations and the traffic of goods to Maputo harbor on the Cahora Basa line, preventing all attempts to restore order and stimulate developments, have belied RENAMO's claims. So has its dogged rejection of South African efforts to broker a negotiated end to the conflict.

The incongruity of the transformation is heightened by its having occurred at precisely the time when Frelimo was making a substantial shift in its economic development policies. Acknowledging past mistakes, government leaders traveled the West seeking a political rapprochement and greater economic involvement in Mozambique. Moves were made toward reducing irrational business restraints, subordinating political considerations to economic demands, and launching joint development projects. The Nkomati Accord, the culmination of those moves, also gave new impetus to the reorientation toward the West.

There has been a reversal of roles. Today, it is RENAMO that is engaged in a power struggle on behalf of sectional interests, and in cynical disregard of the welfare of the people against a government that has amply demonstrated its desire to restore stability, promote economic development, and cooperate actively with South Africa and the West.

LE GRANGE'S POLITICAL SURVIVABILITY EXAMINED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Apr 85 p 15

[Article by Brian Pottinger: "Can the Red Baron (Shot up so Many Times Already) Stay Aloft? Yes, Well, Almost Certainly, But..."]

[Text]

IN political quarters he is known as the Cabinet's Red Baron — shot up countless times but still flying.

Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, a keen competitive marksman, might once have appreciated the allusion.

But not now. Not after a squad of his police killed 19 people in Uitenhage in the Sharpeville 25th anniversary shootings, thereby precipitating the worst crisis in the Minister's six-year term of office.

The speculation in Opposition circles along Parliament Street is that the Minister might finally be grounded.

But will he? And the next question — it follows as naturally as tearsmoke the stones — is who could then control the 46 000-strong police force which is itself at the centre of a political storm?

Mr le Grange's roll of politically inept statements is so long it is wearving to recount

it is wearying to recount.

Press freedom is a privilege;
one does not need court cases to
decide a man is a criminal; mercenaries on Seychelles are runarounds; the Minister is not responsible for police actions.

Why has short-fused President Botha retained the services of Mr le Grange through four Cabinet reshuffles? Three reasons suggest themselves.

Firstly, the National Party Government has a pathological fear of buckling to pressure.

Historically, it never fires Ministers who are themselves under fire. Unless of course it is part of an internal party political squabble or smacks of corruption.

The precedents are on Mr le Grange's side.

Secondly, the hard truth is that most white South Africans like tough Law and Order Ministers.

B J Vorster was one. So was Jimmy Kruger. And so is Mr Louis le Grange — perhaps more

At the Primrose by-election round-up meeting last year — held during the height of the Vaal Triangle unrest — when the Ministers filed into the packed school hall only one man apart from the President brought the crowd to its feet

It was Louis le Grange.

The point has been emphasised in parliamentary debate. The Conservative Party has called for tougher police action.

One MP argued the suspension of two black policemen allegedly caught red-handed by

PFP MPCs beating up a suspect in Uitenhage was wrong. It was bad for the morale of the force.

The politics — at least white politics — are on his side.

And thirdly, the central dilemma. Who would replace the nononsense Minister as political head of the police?

For President Botha it is more than a problem of accession — it is a problem of loyalty.

In the old days — before he became Prime Minister or President — P W Botha was the political head of the army.

Service rivalries existed — as in any country — and those memories do not die entirely when the one wing gains the ascendancy over the other.

The problem is compounded because the police, generally, tend to be more conservative than the military on domestic political issues.

Yet they, armour-clad tortoises of the public service, are called upon to undertake the most enormously sensitive and often unpleasant tasks.

The best tortoise-minder until now has been Mr Louis le Grange, precisely because his loyalty to the President is unchallengeable and the police's loyalty to Mr le

Grange undoubted.

Through six years the Minister has built that loyalty by toughtalking concern for his men's welfare and a knee-jerk defence of police actions — even the most questionable.

The police, then, are on his side. But have the March 21 shootings shifted the delicate balance between Mr le Grange's ministerial worth measured against his undoubted political liabilities?

It appears possible — but unlikely.

The Langa shootings were significant for a number of reasons.

The first is a matter of scale. The Koevoet atrocities, the Vaal Triangle unrest, the accumulated toll of riot dead, the UDF detentions, the Consulate Six.

All lumped together they did not constitute a tenth of the damage to South Africa's image and the Government's reform initia-

tive as did the Langa shootings.

The second point, ceaselessly debated in political circles, is more important. What control does Mr le Grange have over the police force?

The Langa Commission hearings thus far have revealed a startling difference between some police eyewitness evidence and the version Mr le Grange told to Parliament.

It would not be the first time Mr le Grange has claimed one thing while his police have done quite another.

The Aggett inquest revealed that the Minister's protestations to Parliament about the rights of detainees did not quite stretch the 1 600kms to John Vorster Square.

Then, at a time when the Government was selling its new labour initiative, the Eastern Cape Security Police were trying to mobilise employers to create scab labour forces to break a legal trade union.

Minister le Grange admitted to the campaign in Parliament, but put it down to "over-zealousness" on the part of a police captain.

Government speakers — as recently as the snap parliamentary debate on the Crossroads violence on Febuary 26 — emphasised the police's commitment to minimum force in handling unrest. Police evidence at the Langa Commission has revealed the Uitenhage units were not issued basic riot control equipment after March 15.

In a confrontation they could not have used minimum force even if they had wanted to.

Then it should also be remembered it was Mr le Grange's police in SWA-Namibia who arrested 37 Swapo supporters at a braaivleis on Roman Catholic property the night before Prime Minister Botha was to see the Pope.

The response of Department of Foreign Affairs types standing on St Peter's Square when the news of the arrests first came through was instructive: "Not again."

When later asked by this reporter if the arrests had been a ploy by some of his men to embarrass the Prime Minister, Mr le Grange denied it.

The Nettle PW Must Grasp

"My men would never do a thing like that," he said.

But it was also Mr le Grange's men who launched dawn raids on UCT students last month in connection with a minor illegal demonstration held four months before.

News of the raids—they were first described as detentions—hit the desks of senior Foreign Affairs men as they were putting the finishing touches to Kurt von Schirnding's speech to the United Nations Security Council that night on a motion condemning South Africa's civil rights record.

The South African Police are framed by the political order they serve. But in a way they also help shape that order.

Through decades the security services have acted clandestinely against subversive elements, to the point where a senior police security officer can now openly admit that the police would engage in disinformation against a person they considered subversive.

So it is not surprising that the police have developed their own political persona—a character that appears basically reactionary and strongly conservative.

The real nettle President Botha has to grasp is whether control of that persona can be done better with or without his indestructible present Minister of Law and Order.

The view from Government side, it appears, is that while Mr le Grange might have his wings clipped, he must carry on flying.

#### INTER-RACIAL UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT INCREASES

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Apr 85 p 2

[Text]

INTER-RACIAL enrolment at South African universities has increased dramatically

And mixing at coloured and Indian primary and secondary schools is continuing apace.

Latest official figures from the annual report of the Department of Internal Affairs, tabled in Parliament this week, show most university campuses in South Africa are now mixed — including the bas ion of Afrikanerdom, Stellenbosch — and the Rand Afrikaanse Un-

Last year there were only two coloured students registered at RAU. This year it has an enrolment of 60.

iversiteit (RAU).

Last year there were 52 at Rhodes University and this year there are 109.

### **Dramatic**

This was confirmed by Mr Eddy Bydell, deputy director of education in the Department of Education and Culture, who is also the department's Press liaison officer

And at the University of the Western Cape there has been a dramatic increase in black and Indian students.

The roll for this year is 7 226 of which 329 are black, 309 Indian, 58 white and 52 who fall in the catagory of "others", which a university spokesman said could stand for "anything from Griqua and Rehoboth Baster to Chinese".

Last year UWC enrolled a total of 5 935 students among whom were 43 whites, 70 blacks and 88 Indians who studied there with ministerial permission.

Coloured students study at white universities with bursaries provided by the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives.

Mr Bydell confirmed it was still official policy that schools and university campuses for the different ethnic groups should be racially segregated.

### Concession

But the annual report of the Department of Internal Affairs shows most school and university campuses are becoming increasingly integrated.

On a primary school level, Mr Bydell said his department had made a concession which allowed black pupils to be enrolled at coloured primary schools, but only if there were no black schools available within a radius of 8km of a black residential area.

"After primary school, black pupils become the responsibility of the Department of Education and Training which handles black education," he said.

But the report submitted

But the report submitted by the Director-General of Home Affairs to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, which covers the period July 1983 to June 30 1984 shows thousands of coloureds attend Indian schools and vice versa

### **Favoured**

From the report it appears the University of Cape Town was the most favoured alternative campus for coloured students.

Last year 686 coloured students attended UCT. Its nearest competitor for coloured students was the University of the Witwatersrand with 196 coloured students, followed by the University of Natal (159).

There were no coloured students during the academic year up to June last year at the universities of Pretoria or Potchefstroom.

The "Indian" University of Durban-Westville is also, to some degree as are most white universities, "mixed" in character.

RACIAL RECLASSIFICATION FIGURES GIVEN

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by Norman West]

[Text]

A TOTAL of 535 people "changed colour" in South Africa last year — among them eight whites who became officially coloured and 325 coloureds who were reclassified white.

These figures are published in the annual report, tabled in Parliament, of the Department of Internal Affair: They cover the period between July 1983 and June 1984.

Reclassification among coloureds and whites is believed mostly to be a way round the ban on mixed marriages.

### Reasons

And observers believe that once the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act are repealed, there will be less reason for people to change colour.

Other reasons could be race-related laws like the Group Areas Act, which makes it illegal for people of one race to live in areas proclaimed for another race.

The Internal Affairs report

lists the following colour switches — with the figures for the previous year in brackets:

brackets:

White to Cape coloured, eight (four); Cape coloured to white 325 (462); Cape coloured to Chinese, eight (two); white to Chinese, nil (four); Chinese to white, two (nine); Malay to white, one (two); white to Indian, two (three); Indian to Cape coloured, 39 (31); Cape coloured to Indian 33 (37); Indian to Malay, 11 (15); Malay to Indian, 18 (26); black to Cape coloured, 82 (71); Cape coloured to black, six (11); black to "other Asian" one (one); black to Griqua, two (two); Indian to "other Asian", nil (two).

cso: 3400/93

### ADMINISTRATOR LAUDS DECISION ON CAPE BEACHES

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Apr 85 p 9

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. The Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, said it appeared the Cape Town city council wanted to do something positive for the first time to stop the antisocial chaos that has prevailed on beaches and at swimming pools in the municipal area.

He was commenting on recommendations by the City Council's amenities and health committee that people should pay an increased entrance fee at the Sea Point and Newlands swimming pools and, for the first time, pay to use certain beaches.

The committee approved the principle of an entrance tariff at certain beaches, provided it was accompanied by a limit on numbers.

In accordance with the recommendations, numbers at smaller beaches on the Atlantic coast would be controlled by turnstiles.

Referring to the recommendations on the enforcement of standards for personel hygiene and the prevention of anti-social behaviour, Mr Louw said it was "high time" that something was done.

A Sea Point city councillor, Mr Chris Joubert, said the recommendations of the committee should not be seen as amended racial discrimination, but as an attempt to prevent anti-social behaviour.

He said Coloured and Black people had been prepared to use the tidal pool at Camps Bay where there was an entrance charge as there was proper control there. — Sapa.

ISCOR'S COAL-BASED REDUCTION PLANT SCORES BREAKTHROUGH

Johann sburg MINING WEEK in English 10 Apr 85 pp 1, 6

[Arric e by Tom McCuaig]

[Text]

ISCOR has scored a notable technological breakthrough with its coal-based reduction plant at Vanderbijlpark which was officially opened recently by the corporation's managing director Mr Willem van Wyk.

The plant is not only the largest and most modern of its kind anywhere but steelmakers throughout the world have shown keen interest in its 100 percent coal-based process.

Already, the plant management has played host to a number of overseas steel experts and in fact plans a symposium soon which has been set up mainly because of the interest abroad.

In the steel business, the apartheid bogy goes by the board and steel men from India, New Zealand and Brazil will be among those attending.

Countries which have large reserves of coal are particularly interested in the process which is the first to be based solely on coal.

At present, over 80 percent of the production of direct reduced iron (or sponge iron as it is called) is based on natural gas.

The Iscor plant uses a method developed specially by Lurgi, the West German international giant company, which was also the main contractor for the design, erection and commissioning of the plant.

Lurgi's executive vice president, Dr Georg von Struve, travelled from his Frankfurt headquarters for the opening ceremony.

The total cost of the plant, including modifications to the works' three electric arc furnaces, is in the region of R180 million.

But Mr Van Wyk stressed that Iscor is confident that the savings will more than compensate for the initial investment.

The corporation fears there could be a serious shortage of scrap within a year because more and more is being used in the arc furnaces where there are improving through-yields of finished products from liquid steel owing to a higher percentage of steel being continually cast.

Mr Jan Venter, superintendent of the Vanderbijlpark works, put it this way: "The supply of scrap is erratic, prices fluctuate and the quality fluctuates too — some of it is actually poor stuff."

The advantages of sponge iron which the new plant will produce is that it is cheaper than scrap and of superior and consistent quality.

An important factor is that sponge iron reduces the so-called undesirable trace elements in the final product.

The sulphur content, for example, is reduced to 0,01 percent. Other "undesirables" such as lead, zinc and copper are also cut back drastically.

The plant's four rotary kilns — each is 80 m long and 4,8 m in diameter — have an annual capacity of 720 000 tons.

#### AFRIKANER, BLACK NATIONALIST CRISIS REVIEWED

Growing Opposition

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 7 Apr 85 p 14

[Article by Alan Paton: "We're in a Hell of a Mess"]

[Text]

THEY write to me from the United States, they come to see me, they call me long-distance.

Some of them are my friends and they are anxious about me and my family. They want to know if the country is blowing up.

Why do the police kill so many black people? Is it civil war? Is this the end? Is this the revolution?

I hope that some of them will read these words. They are not meant to disturb nor to reassure. They are meant to state the plain and simple truth as seen by one who has lived in this strange country for 82 years, who belongs to no party, who holds no ideology, who doesn't believe in Utopia, who holds firm beliefs about the rule of law and the total freedom of the citizen under the law.

At the moment our country is in a hell of a mess.

This mess is physically encountered in what are called the black townships. The black people who live there work in the factories, the offices, the shops, of the white towns.

Their relations with white people are often good. But they hate the laws that control their lives with a bitter hatred. Their children hate these laws more than their parents. They show their hatred by stoning and burning buses, schools, shops.

In recent months their hatred has been directed against what is called "the establishment", and against anyone who works for the establishment. In some black townships the life of a black policeman is in danger.

These hated laws are the laws of apartheid. But more profoundly, they are the laws of conquest, the laws made by the conqueror for the conquered. This means, in effect, the laws made by the whites for the blacks.

These laws control movement, work, place of residence, and other matters innumerable. In part they affect white people, but only minimally. Very few white people have to enter black areas to work; most black people have to enter white areas to work. Black people experience an amount of police surveillance unknown to the vast majority of white people.

In 1960 (Sharpeville), in 1976 (Soweto) and now in 1985 (Uitenhage), black people came into conflict with the police, and many died.

Nineteen recently died in Uitenhage, when a small number of police confronted some thousands of blacks who refused to halt their procession. If the Uitenhage incident had been isolated, it would not have attracted world attention, but it was only one of many. We appear to be entering a period of endemic unrest with violence. The country is in a state of deep depression.

Our State President, Mr P W Botha, has appointed an urgent Commission of Inquiry into the Uitenhage shootings, headed by an eminent judge. The President would like the sub judice rule to operate, the Speaker says it does not.

I shall content myself by saying that the training of our police in riot duties leaves a great deal to be desired, and secondly, that the selection process for police candidates is equally defective.

During the last century there was a long series of frontier wars between Afrikaner trekkers going north, and African tribes man coming south. The memories of those wars lies deep in the Afrikaner mind, and some of our white policemen think they are still fighting them.

I shall close with one last observation: the civil control of the police, that is the control exercised by the Minister of Law and Order, (formerly Justice), during the greater part of my lifetime, has also left much to be desired. It has — to a large extent, not entirely — been the control of black people by white authority.

I now come to the heart of

I now come to the heart of my subject, and I will antagonise some readers, and persuade others that my mental powers

are failing.

I am going to state that it is one of the great ironies of my political life that just as the Afrikaner Nationalist is at last beginning to realise that the day of conquest has gone, and that the time to undo conquest has come, and just as he is taking his first tottering steps towards the undo ing, he is confronted by this violent manifestation of black hatred of his apartheid laws.

That he will therefore give up his talks, I do not believe. That he will lose more Afrikaner Nationalists to the extreme right is very possible. The future is hard and challenging, and I cannot tell you what it will be, and no one

else can either.

I have a word to say to those Americans who think they can hasten the "day of liberation" by damaging the South African economy, as for example, by disinvestment. I do not think that damaging our economy will help us to do better, it will do material harm to many black people.

Americans ought to be told that they are going to bring hunger and suffering to many black people. One often hears the cry: "We don't mind suffering, we're used to it," but this cry usually comes from those articulate blacks who will suffer least.

I as a Christian will have nothing to do with disinvestment.

Anyone who believes that disinvestment will bring our Government "to its knees" is believing nonsense.

What would happen if the West withdrew from us completely? (Except for trade in a few strategic minerals of course). What would happen if the West left South Africa in a vacuum? Who would fill the vacuum? Readers can have one guess.

Must Americans therefore leave us alone to go our own sweet way? Certainly not.

The Afrikaner Nationalist, who boasts that he is an African, is much more a man of the West. He is very sensitive to the moral judgment of the West. He is more sensitive to it now than at any other time in my 82 years. He is certainly less arrogant than he was 30 years ago. He is readier to listen to righteous judgment, but reacts negatively to self-righteous denunciation.

In a economic power of America is awesome, but Americans mustn't underestimate their moral power. The one thing they mustn't do, is to isolate us from the world. That would bring dan-

ger for us all.

As I put down my pen, it is announced that our Minister of Law and Order has clamped down on meetings by 29 organisations. It will achieve nothing except to strengthen opposition. I believe that the Afrikaner Nationalist Government is facing the crisis of its life. So are we all.

Blacks Divided

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 7 Apr 85 p 14

[Article by David Breier: "Black Government: Would It Still Mean Disunity?"]

[Text]

THE divisions in Llack South African politics have become so intense that even if a black government could take over it would fail to achieve black unity.

Polemic used by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) against the rival United Democratic Front has become so vitriolic as to preclude any possible reconciliation. Azapo forms part of the National Forum group which opposes the UDF.

The latest issue of the Azapo mouthpiece, Frank

Talk, carries a stinging attack on the idea of a National Convention headed "Death to the National Convention".

"The growing call for a National Convention will reveal many sellouts. The People's Movement, however, needs to be even more vigilant against

vipers in our bosom," the article states.

As the idea of a National Convention to decide the political system of the country is a cornerstone of the UDF, the attack implies the UDF are "vipers" and "sellouts" — and that is the ultimate censure in black politics.

This vicious confrontation is in addition to the physical and sometimes fatal attacks by activists against black community councillors who are perceived to be collaborating with the Government

It is also in addition to the sometimes violent confrontations between Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's largely Zulu Inkatha movement and other black political activists.

President Ronald Reagan of the United States this week referred to black factions in South Africa as being partly responsible for the violence in the country.

But in addition to conflict between blacks within the system and those against the system, there is growing conflict between factions against the system.

The confrontation between the UDF and the National Forum which erupted during the visit by Senator Edward Kennedy this year, appears to be intensifying.

As recently as the 1970s, many of their political activ ists were friends and allies together in the black consciousness movement which was then at the core of black antiestablishment politics.

But after the banning of the Black People's Convention and related groups, black politics underwent a change in which black consciousness (BC) became unfashionable in many black political circles.

Whereas in the 1970s BC was regarded as a progressive response by oppressed blacks, BC began to be regarded by a large section of black activists as "reactionary"

The split between the oldstyle BC activists and the more verligte elements who accepted all races and classes in their movement, led to the split between the UDF and the National Forum.

The UDF has followed the old line of the Freedom Charter drawn up in 1955 by the Congress Alliance of the time, including the white Congress of Democrats, the SA Indian Congress and the now-banned black African National Congress.

UDF membership of whites such as those in Nusas and some in the Black Sash, is anathema to the BC-oriented Azapo. Azapo believes any action by the UDF will be compromised by its white liberal elements.

Azapo even differs from its fellow member of the National Forum, the Cape Action League (CAL) which is ideologically somewhere between Azapo and the UDF. CAL is far more powerful in the Cape than Azapo and led the anti-Kennedy demonstrations there

CAL believes in a non-racial ideology and goes so far as to reject the concept of race while Azapo believes in black consciousness.

But CAL also rejects liberals. And in effect, liberals amount to whites.

Therefore in practice CAL finds itself very close to Azapo, although its ideological explanations are different and they sometimes have serious differences over whether whites can be members.

At the same time CAL and some UDF members have gone so far as to co-operate in activities such as the breaking- up of Labour Party meetings in last year's elections.

There are even ideological divisions within the UDF which has a vast mass of affiliates.

But the real divide in black anti-establishment politics is between the UDF and Azapo. And the gap appears to be unbridgeable.

#### CITY PRESS APPEALS FOR PEACE WITHIN BLACK COMMUNITY

MB281144 Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 28 Apr 85 p 2

[Editorial: "This Plan Must Work"]

[Text] Everyone who believes violence has been tearing down the soul of our communities in the past few weeks, will enthusiastically support Bishop Desmond Tutu's crusade for peace among our communities.

His timely intervention has once again emphasized his often declared intention of seeking a peaceful transition in a just society. His commitment to non-violence has been given added emphasis.

As we reported in our first edition, the concern expressed by our communities must not be underestimated.

Many of our people are weary of the violence and senseless destruction of our own properties, and any organization representing their aspirations must take cognizance of this.

We also warned against the department of dirty tricks causing havoc among us. It has already happened.

The Azanian People's Organization saw thousands of pamphlets being strewn all over our townships threatening revenge because some of their leaders were assaulted. AZAPO's president, Ishmael Mkhabela, denied that the organization issued the pamphlet.

The home of COSAS's Tembisa branch organizer, Godfrey Thulane, was petrol-bombed. His father had the grace to comment that the deed was undertaken because blame would be placed squarely on the shoulders of AZAPO or Inkatha. He pointed the finger at what he called the agents of the "system".

Those agents, we are afraid, will have a field day if the present violence in our townships continues unabated. The only way to foil it is by climbing onto the Tutu peace crusade wagon. It is the only way out of the present dilemma.

### ACID RAIN LEVELS SHOW NO THREAT TO JOHANNESBURG

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Apr 85 p 8

### [Text]

THE levels of air polluting gases which cause 'acid rain' — sulphor dioxide and nitrogen dioxide — in Johannesburg are well below internationally accepted standards and do not pose a health hazard.

This emerged at the annual presentation of the Johannesburg City Council's Medical Officer of Health report yesterday.

Johannesburg's MOH, Dr Baldwin Richards, said the most pressing problem lay in the precursors to acid rain which caused harm to both humans and buildings. However, Johannesburg did not face high levels of these gases at present.

He said air pollution was more evident in Soweto where families used coal stoves and fires.

Although various control and monitoring measures were being carried out in Johannesburg, Dr Richards said the problem was a national one and had to be treated as such.

"Action in Johannesburg without the co-operation of neighbouring areas would not make much difference," he said.

There are two stations in Johannesburg measuring air pollution, one at the City Hall and one at the water tower in South Hills.

Addressing the lead pollution problem, Dr Richards said although South Africa was behind places like America and West Germany in dealing with this phenomenon, using their experience and knowledge would be of great benefit.

He emphasised that there was no proven facts linking lead pollution to various effects, such as hyperactivity, in children.

A study of 100 children in the Johannesburg area had discovered one child with a lead level of 33 micrograms per 100 millilitres, two with a level of 25,5 and the rest well below that.

Authorities constantly measure lead levels, and have found Johannesburg well below international standards

INDUSTRIAL LAND PRICE RISE REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 21 Apr 85 p 28

[Article by Kerry Clarke]

[Text]

COMPANIES operating in the Sandton suburbs of Wynberg, Eastgate and Kramerville are sitting on the most expensive industrial land in South Africa.

Industrial land in Wynberg is selling for a top price of R200 a square metre, according to a survey of 43 industrial suburbs compiled by Divaris Real Estate. The lowest-priced suburb on the company's books is Roodekop, south of Johannesburg, where land has fetched R45/m².

# Supply

Other pricey suburbs are Eastgate and Kramerville at R160/m<sup>2</sup>. Topping the list with Wynberg are several suburbs south of the city centre — Amalgam at R170/m<sup>2</sup>, and City Deep and new Centre at R140/m<sup>2</sup>.

Keeping Roodekop company at the lower end of the market are Alrode South and Halfway House at R50/m, Clayville at R55/m² and Wadeville at R60/m².

A survey shows that land in Benrose, Bertrams, Doornfontein, Eastgate, Kramerville, Park Central, Reuven and Robertsham is all taken, but there is a good supply in Alrode South, Devland, Jet Park, Marlboro, Roodekop and Wadeville.

Rents are more on a par than land prices, ranging from R2,75/m² to R6/m³, according to Divaris.

Executive director of Divaris' Transvaal operation Colin Wright predicts an increase in the rent ceiling to R6,50/m' as strong demand for industrial space in units of 200m' to 300m' emerges.

Mr Wright says: "Eastgate is without a doubt the upmarket industrial area of the Sandton-Johannesburg zone.

# **Shortage**

"Some suburbs which have become unpopular are those close to Alexandra township. In Marlboro, for instance, which border Alexandra, there is a lot of land available and prices average about R110/m². In neighbouring Kew, which does not border

the township, land has fetched R135/m², and it is

David Annenberg, a Cape Town real estate consulting firm, reports good prices because of the shortage of wellsited industrial land in the Peninsula.

### Inland

The most expensive industrial suburb on the company's books is Diep River where R72/m² and R71/m² is asked. Retreat and Epping are also near the top of the price list at R60/m².

The lowest prices are being asked in Philippi — about R20/m² — and Kraaifontein at R24/m² to R25/m².

The Divaris Cape operation's survey of industrial land shows that in spite of the oversupply in certain segments of industrial buildings, prices in the metropolitan industrial areas continue to increase because of scarcity. However, the general demand for industrial premises has slackened.

Divaris says Stellenbosch has also emerged as one of the more expensive industrial areas because of the shortage of sites in the town. Prices as high as R75/m are being paid.

David Annenberg reports that rentals in the northern suburbs of Cape Town and in the larger premises in Epping Industria are R2/m² and R2,50/m². In the city, the perimeter and southern suburbs rents are still firm at between R3/m² and R4/m².

The Durban area is short of industrial space — the only townships serving the needs of industrialists are Prospecton, Mobeni, Jacobs and Phoenix.

### Transfer

Although Anglo American Property Services has started selling space in its new Springfield Park suburb, transfer will take place only in March next year.

As a result, the average price of industrial land—about R80/m³— is fairly high. Land has fetched a top price of R120/m³ in the Jacobs area.

The shortage of land has driven many industrialists inland to Pinetown, which has a highly developed factory area.

### ENGINEERING INDUSTRY'S PROBLEMS DETAILED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 21 Apr 85 p 28

[Article by Don Robertson]

[Text]

THE engineering industry is bleeding.

A combination of high in-terest rates, rising inflation, reduced demand and increas-ing input costs is forcing hun-dreds of small companies into bankruptcy.

Many small and medium companies doubt that they will see out the year.

Industry spokesman say there is no hope of any im-provement in the next year. Major capital projects are being shelved because of the

high cost of money. The South African Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors (Safcec) says that in the first quarter of this year, the value of contracts awarded was only R275-million compared with R430-million in the same time last year. In real terms, this means a drop of more than 40%.

### Concern

Contracts awarded in the second quarter of 1984 de-clined to about R400-million, falling to R375-million in the third quarter and only R225-million in the last three months.

Confirming the worsening pattern was the mere R30-million awarded in March this year.

The federation's chief executive, Kees Lagaay, says: "The low total for the first quarter of this year is causing concern about activity in the months ahead."

Although only some small

Although only some small companies have been forced to close, the profitability of others has taken a knock, he

says.
The Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (Seifsa) says re-trenchments are rising rapid-

Seifsa director Sam van Coller says that although no accurate figures are available, "we get the impression that retrenchments have grown rapidly in past months

and many more are to come".
"There is no hope of any improvement this year, but if we can contain costs and reduce inflation, there is some chance on the export side.

"We depend on capital pro-jects and with Mondi and Sappi completed and the consumer market, such as cars, in the doldrums, the small and medium companies are experiencing serious cash-flow problems."

# Destroyed

Small companies are more outspoken about their plight. Robert van Zyl, joint man-aging director of Tegnon Engineering, says his staff has been reduced from 120 a

few years ago to 20. Turnover is also well down: "Secondary industry is be-ing destroyed by high input costs. Primary producers, such as Iscor, Alusaf and the

such as Iscor, Alusaf and the copper and brass producers, have full protection. We must be allowed to import steel, which is about 30% cheaper than the SA product."

High interest rates are another problem. Cosmas Souris, managing director of C&D Engineering says: "I have to borrow money to pay interest on the loan I took to build a factory and for which build a factory and for which I can find no tenants.

"I don't know whether we will survive until the end of the year,"

#### REVENUE FROM MINERALS LEAPS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Apr 85 p 5

[Article by Roy Bennetts]

[Text]

REVENUE from South African minerals in 1984 leapt by more than R2 765-million over the previous year's figure.

SA Mineral Bureau figures show revenue for unclassified minerals above R19 000-million compared with R16 244-million in

1983

Revenue from platinum, antimony, cobalt and uranium oxide is kept under wraps, but estimates put platinum up by 22%, anti-mony and uranium making only small increases in sales but gaining from the weak rand.

# 90 tons

South Africa's estimated platinum production of 90 tons a year should have produced at least R1 600million.

Cobalt production and rev-enue figures are secret, and estimates differ so widely that they have to

be ignored.

Gold production increased from 678 tons in 1983 to 681 tons last year. Grades continued to decline, the 1984 average of 6,44g/t being 1,8% below the 1983 level.

To counter this drop the mines milled an extra million tons of ore to finish the year with a figure of 101-million tons.

The weakening rand offset the dollar price of gold to give producers revenue of R11 559,6-million, an increase of R1 382,1-million over 1983.

Coal output continued to increase. Total 1984 sales of 159-million tons were gair of R806-million on 1983.

Coal mines produced an additional 8-million tons for domestic use, revenue increasing by R253-million to R1 713-million.

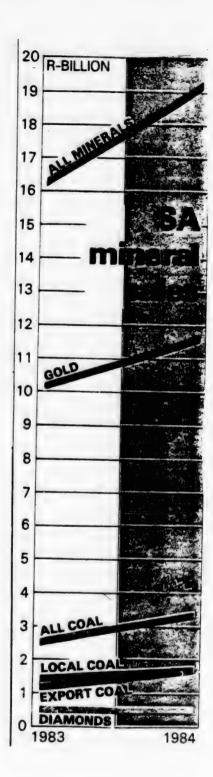
# Lost sparkle

Production of export coal rose by 26% to 38-million tons. Value, bolstered by the ailing rand, leapt by 48% to R1 712-million.

Diamonds lost their sparkle with both carats produced and sales falling. The 1984 production of 101-million carats was 2-million carats below the previous year's figure, and sales dropped by 4% to R518million.

Silver sales fell by nearly R5million to R66-million last year. Production was down by only a ton from

1983's 218 tons.



CSO: 3400/93

### HUGE BLACK POPULATION SHIFT FORESEEN

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 21 Apr 85 p 31

[Article by Sampie Terreblanche, professor of economics at Stellenbosch University: "Just Like the Boere, the Blacks Must Maak 'n Plan"]

[Text]

DURING the next 15 years the huge population shift by blacks into urban areas will be the most challenging issue facing our country.

In 1980 almost half, or 10million, of the black population lived outside the independent and self-governing national states, while slightly more than five million were settled in so-called white South Africa.

By international standards, therefore, the level of black urbanisation has been relatively low, mainly as a result of influx control.

At present less than 40 percent of blacks are urbanised, and only about one-quarter live in "white" urban areas.

But the total black population (including the independent national states) will probably expand to about 35million by the year 2000.

The chances that the national states will be able to support more than 12 or 15-million people at a satisfactory standard of living appears to be remote, even if reasonable success is attained with decentralisation.

Consequently, at least 20million blacks will reside outside the national states by the year 2000, of whom 15million will probably settle in "white" urban area:

# The alarming prospect

If one compares the supply and demand of labour in 1980 with the anticipated state of the labour market by the year 2000, an alarming prospect emerges.

In 1980 only about three-

In 1980 only about threequarters of job seekers could secure employment in the modern sector of the economy.

The remaining three million or so — most of them blacks — were left no choice but to "earn" their livelihood in the subsistence sector of the national states or in the informal sector in and around urban areas.

These job seekers were not employed in the traditional sense of the word, but underemployed, that is partially or marginally employed at low levels of measurable productivity.

These activities in the peripheral sectors were, nonetheless, very welfare-relevant for the families involved.

It is projected that the total labour force will increase to 18-million by the year 2000.

If South Africa is able to maintain an annual economic growth rate of more than three percent, the demand for labour in the modern sector could be about 11-million.

That will leave about 7-million potential jobseekers to "earn" a livelihood — for themselves and their families — in the peripheral sectors.

Of these, at least three million (of whom the majority will be black) are expected to earn their livelihood in the informal sector in the "white" urban areas.

It will therefore be necessary to allow millions of blacks to migrate to the "white" urban areas to settle legally, although they may never occupy a permanent job or a brick house.

Proponents of influx control often argue that black propanisation will only bring about a shift in poverty from the national states to the urhan areas.

Insofar as urbanisation is not a panacea to eradicate poverty, this argument may

be valid. But it begs the point.
The operational question is this: where will black poverty be more bearable, in the national states or in the "white" urban areas?

There can be no doubt about the answer.

Far greater w-!fare can be created in the informal sector in the "white" urban areas than is possible in the national states.

The reason is that an informal sector in the "white" areas has far greater "growth" potential.

Standards of under-employment, and the ensuing quality of life, are potentially far greater in the vicinity of a modern urban sector than in the national states.

Meaningful informal rector activities in the national states are only possible near Pretoria, Durban and East London.

The rest of the informal sector will have to evolve mainly in "white" South Africa.

The Government will in the years ahead have to take increasing cognisance of quality-of-life issues — or, put differently, the "quality of poverty" — of the black population.

To believe that a higher economic growth rate alone will have the desired effect is a pipedream.

Even if a relatively high rate is achieved, it will still not guarantee nearly enough employment and welfare for blacks.

If we really want to alleviate black poverty we shall have to look towards economic activities that are reconcilable with our Third World situation.

# Three policy initiatives

If the Government wants to bring about the inevitable black urbanisation in an orderly way, three policy initiatives are necessary:

A new urban policy in the "white" urban areas.

● A progressive relaxation and the eventual abolition of influx control.

 Aggressive family planning programmes.

In the immediate future

the first will be the most important to set the necessary pattern for future develop-

Why a new urban policy? Because South Africa actually needs a dual urban polione for the modern part and another for the informal part of the "white" urban areas.

Let us call them the "bright" (modern) and "grey' parts of the urban areas.

In the "bright" parts, typical western rules and regulations could be applied, while in the "grey" parts they should be abolished almost entirely to create lebensraum for the informal sector to evolve.

In the "bright" areas a controlled market economy is required, while in the "grey" areas laissez-faire will be desirable.

# Only minimum facilities

In the "grey" areas Gov-ernment must supply only minimum community facilities to ensure that squatters' settlements will not degenerate into chaos.

The site-and-service stands and the other developments in Khayeiitsha appear promising. It could set the pattern for orderly black urbanisation.

Given that up to 40 percent of blacks residing in "white" urban areas will have to find their livelihood in the informal sectors by the year 2000, we must develop (parallel to each other) two completely different economies: a modern, or formal, sector, and an informal sector economy.

If population growth is taken into account, it is probably fair to say that the twain will never meet.

Parts of the informal sector may gradually be integrated with the modern sector.

But most of this informal sector will remain and "grow" according to its own pace, rhythm, "laws", "ille-gality", "poverty values", and its own concept of wealth and welfare.

As perceived by the middle-class in the modern sector, the "grey" areas will appear untidy, "nhealthy, and even "unacceptable" — but they will simply have to get accustomed to the realities of Third World standards.

The two economies will be complementary insofar as the informal sector preys on the modern sector.

In other respects, the two sectors will also be in conflict, because many vested interests will be endangered.

The existing First World regulations operate as a form of structural apartheid — they keep some people "in" and protected, and others "out" and unprotected.

To abolish these regulations will not be easy.

Moreover, measures to create a proper environment for the informal sector will also be opposed if the slightest danger exists that it may harm economic growth.

But if such an environment creates more welfare in the informal sector than it destroys in the modern sector, there is no reason why it should not be brought about.

It will, however, be difficult to convince western-orientated economists that under certain conditions it may be justifiable to sacrifice measurable economic growth in the modern sector for the sake of unmeasurable welfare in the informal sec-

Will the Government go the full length towards the creation of two economies? I am not too optimistic.

White South Africans are too bourgeois to appreciate the opportunities and the welfare that can be created by blacks in their own informal sector activities.

# Too colonial British

On the one hand we (the whites) are too British, perhaps too colonial British. We want to control as many things as possible.

On the other, we are too calvinistically inclined because we prefer to organise our lives so that everything is predictable.

Perhap; we need a more Latin men'ality.

Italy and the Latin American countries are excellent examples where informal and modern sector economies exist and prosper alongside each other.

We have a very long way to go before we will understand

these attitudes.

When the Afrikaners were in a process of forced urbanisation, their ingenuity rescued them. It was expressed as "'n Boer maak 'n plan'

We are now pressurised to find a way, a "plan", to im-prove the "quality of pover-ty" for blacks.

An obvious one is to allow them to do their own thing in their "grey" parts of the "white" urban areas.

HEUNIS: BLACK ASPIRATIONS MUST GET PRIORITY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by Brian Stuart]

[Text]

TOP priority must now be given to satisfy Black political aspirations in structures that are in no way inferior to those created for other groups, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, told The Citizen in an interview in Cape Town.

"The Government's general constitutional goal is to give all the country's people a say in decision-making that affects their interests, while maintaining security, stability and self-determination for each group," Mr Heunis said.

### To all

"This applies to all, and thus also to Black communities.

"It remains the Government's point of departure that, because of the diversity of South African society, it is neither desirable nor practicable to accommodate all communities in the same way.

"Different structures by no means imply that the right of Black people to take part in democratic processes is not recognised. Neither will the new structures created be inferior or less effective."

Mr Heunis said it was wrong to assume that Blacks in South Africa had no say at all. But at the same time the Government recognised that there were problems which had to be solved.

"Above all, it must be stressed that it is the Government's firm intention not to work out one-sided solutions, but to negotiate the future dispensation with all relevant parties.

### Steps

Mr Heunis said it was on this basis that the Government had taken a number of steps towards a negotiated new deal for Blacks.

"Co-operation with the independent states within the multi-lateral dispensation will be further extended, in line with the current trend, to a level at which the governments concerned are given a say regarding actions by the SA that affect them, and vice versa," he said.

"Independence will remain the goal in the case of all the self-governing areas. However, the Government does not intend forcing this on them. Therefore, co-operation with self-governing national states will take place within collective bargaining structures as announced by the State President. Co-operation should ultimately take place within the same overall framework.

"The Government accepts the permanence in the RSA of large numbers of Black people who find themselves outside the national areas. Such communities are therefore being treated for constitutional purposes as entities which, in their own right can participate in all decisions affecting their interests.

ests.
"Clarity must also be reached on the question of citizenship.

"The Government is also establishing an informal non-statutory forum with the aim of opening discussion on a wide range of constitutional and related matters.

"Communication between the Government and Black communities must be improved to create a more favourable climate."

Mr Heunis said he believed these steps were proof of the Government's sincerity and resolve to ensure every South African had effective participation in government and to bring about the development and upliftment of all people.

WHITES, BLACKS JOIN FORCES IN WAGE DEMANDS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Apr 85 p 1

[Article by Amrit Manga]

[Text]

TRADE unions have crossed the colour bar, with black and white workers presenting a united front for the first time.

An umbrella body, the International Metal Workers Federation, which represents black and white trade unions, has presented a proposal for members' 1985 wage increases.

It represents members ranging from the once strongly right-wing all-white Boilermakers Society through to the black consciousness Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers Union.

# Dispute

The demand is for increases of from 36% to 102%.

The federation and 10 other unions have declared a dispute with 45 employer associations belonging to the powerful Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (Seifsa). About 320 000 workers will be affected by the outcome of the dispute.

The employers have called for a wage freeze in an attempt to preserve jobs. They argue that in the past three years more than 80 000 workers have been laid off in this sector. If they are forced to meet union demands, they

will be forced to retrench more workers.

The steel and engineering sector is one of the hardest hit by the economic recession

The dispute was declared on the first day of the negotiations. In spite of employer worries about more job losses, worker representatives are undeterred.

# Doubling

Before negotiations started, the entire labour force at Siemens Cable Company in Pretoria stopped work when management allegedly refused shop stewards transport to the wage talks.

The unions demand a minimum wage of R3,50 an hour, which would mean doubling the remuneration received by less skilled workers. Artisans want their minimum to be raised by 36% to R6,53 an hour.

It is claimed that the demands are not excessive as these minimum wages are already being paid in many other sectors of the economy.

Trade unions want a 40hour week with no loss of pay. Current working weeks ranging from 45 to 50 hours.

The unions have included a request that employers increase their contribution to the pension fund to 12% and that this money be invested in family housing.

Because of retrenchments, the unions have demanded that severance benefits be increased to one month's pay for every year of service.

Also party to the negotiations, but acting independently of other bodies, is the right-wing Confederation of Metal and Building Unions (CMBU) made up of about 10 unions. It is demanding increases of between 20% and 45%.

SURVEY SHOWS WHITE PESSIMISM PREVALENT

Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English 7 Apr 85 p 6

[Article by Jean Waite]

[Text]

WHEN it comes to looking on the bright side, white South Africans are bottom of the heap.

According to an international Gallup Poll conducted by the Markinor Group, we are among the world's most pessimistic people.

More than half those polled in South Africa believe that in 10 years' time the world will be a worse place to live in than now. Only the Japanese share this vision of gloom.

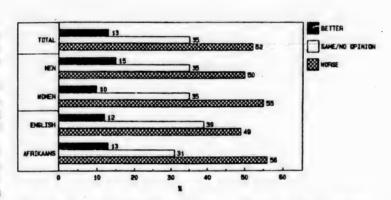
A mere handful of us (13 percent) are looking forward to a brighter future.

Afrikaans-speaking whites (56 percent) are slightly more pessimistic than English-speakers (49 percent) that the world situation will worsen in the next decade.

Women have the edge in the gloom stakes, with only 10 percent expecting life to get better — as opposed to 15 percent of men.

And it seems the younger or older we are, the more despondent we become.

Those in the 16-24 age



WHAT DO YOU THINK? This is how South Africans shape up in the pessimism stakes. They were asked whether the world would be a better or a worse place in 10 years.

group and the 50-plus age group are the most pessimistic.

The poll was conducted in 16 different countries during January, February and March this year.

On an international level, the British, Australians and Brazilians have the gloomiest feelings of all, with more than 40 percent expecting the world situation to get worse.

At the other end of the spectrum are Greece, Argentina and Uruguay, where the exact same percentage of the populations expects conditions to improve.

The United States is sitting on the fence with 30 percent of its citizens expecting world conditions to deteriorate and the same percentage looking forward to an improvement.

Hollanders also refuse to take a stand, with 53 percent thinking things will probably stay the same.

REVISION OF BLACK CITIZENSHIP LAWS URGED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 21 Apr 85 p 31

[Article by Marinus Wiechers: "One Man, One Citizenship"]

[Text]

PERHAPS the most notorious statement in the history of France was the suggestion by Marie Antoinette that the hungry masses should eat cake if bread was not available. A statement certain to acquire a similarly grotesque place in South Africa's history is the declaration by a former Minister, Dr Connie Mulder, that one day there would be no South African blacks in the Republic — they would all be foreigners.

Today this declaration sounds too far-fetched to be taken seriously. But the fact of the matter is

that it remains the underlying dogma of our existing black citizenship laws.

For black people this prediction of a white, coloured and Indian citizenship in South Africa with all blacks having foreigner status is still a living and menacing reality. Nothing has been changed in those laws elaborately designed and applied to implement the original scheme of massive denationalisation.

Admittedly, in his opening address to Parliament this year, the State President promised that the citizenship issue would receive high priority. On Friday he gave a further hint in this direction.

# Complex

But the question remains: to what extent will the Government accept the most fundamental truth on which all modern citizenship laws rest — that people born or living permanently in a country, as well as their descendants, acquire the citizenship of that country by virtue of birth and residence?

South Africa's citizenship laws are extremely complex and still reflect the contorted and pervasive dogma of a white homeland on which the original grand scheme of separate development was founded.

To understand this complex situation, one should first consider the general law of 1949 which regulates the overall subject of South African citizenship.

This law is colour blind insofar as it acknowledges that all people (with a few minor exclusions) born or permanently living in the Republic, as well as their descendants, are South African citizens.

In 1963, separate citizenship for the Transkei was introduced and in 1970 black citizenship for all the other homelands followed. In terms of the 1963 Transkei and 1970 Homelands Citizenship Acts, homeland citizenship was conferred on all black people in addition to the South African citizenship they possessed under the 1949 Act.

To ascribe homeland citizenship to all black people, the criteria were cast extremely wide and include not only birth or residence in a homeland but also descent, a personal relationship or cultural affiliation with homeland people.

In this way no black person — even if he was born and had resided for decades in the so-called white part of South Africa — could escape homeland citizenship.

# Escape

And in granting the Trenskei, Bophutha-Tswana, Ciskei and Venda independence, the South African Parliament unilaterally enacted that all citizens of these territories would from then become foreigners in the Republic.

A later amendment enabled these statutory "foreigners" to regain South African citizenship if a nonindependent homeland allowed them to assume its citizenship.

And so the ultimate dream remains: if all homelands become independent all blacks in South Africa will be foreigners.

# Logical

Suffice it to say that these laws have created anomalies and evoked suspicion, fear and resentment in all black communities.

People who have always considered themselves South Africans are suddenly branded foreigners in the country of their birth and find their children deprived of the possibility of acquiring property rights.

Black people who became foreigners after the independence of "their" homelands have retained certain residence rights in the Republic. They may also participate in the election of black local authorities. But they are precluded from ever regaining their South African citizenship through naturalisation since the Aliens Act permits this only in the case of foreigners who can assimilate with the white population in South Africa.

Theoretically, Transkei, BophuthaTswana, Ciskei and Venda could, as independent states, define their own citizenship requirements in such a way that only people born and living in their territories would qualify. That would leave the Republic to cope with millions of stateless people living in South Africa. Such a step would, after all, be the logical result of South Africa's own actions.

# Ironic

But by taking such a step these states would deprive themselves of South Africa's economic assistance an assistance based to a very real extent on the numbers of TBVC citizens working and living in the Republic.

One thing is certain: the biggest single factor causing such overwhelming rejection, nationally and internationally, of the homelands policy is the citizenship issue and mass denationalisation.

Ironically, there are very few people, including those in former homelands that have now become independent, who do not at heart still regard themselves as South Africans.

Homelands could once have formed the solid cornerstones of a decentralised Southern African state institution.

Regrettably, both states and homelands are now seen by most black people as monsters devouring their precious birthright their South African citizenship.



# **Monsters**

Citizenship cannot be assessed in the abstract or, worse, used as an ideological tool to categorise people into groups according to which political, social and economic rights and privileges are meted out.

A modern state accepts its people as citizens on the principal basis of birth and residence, irrespective of personal characteristics.

No measure of juggling with abstract legal concepts such as nationality and citizenship — a distinction derived from earlier times when the national state was not as coherent as it is now and the population consisted of various local groups of privileged and less privileged people — can ever form a solid basis for distinguishing or categorising people's rights.

Furthermore, the creation of a privileged status of South African citizenship for certain groups of people and the introduction of a Southern African nationality of lesser significance within the Republic is inherently dangerous.

It is of necessity reminiscent of laws such as those enacted in Germany during the Thirties which also attempted to introduce first and second class citizens. It such a distinction between nationals and citizens is drawn on racial lines, the analogy becomes still more striking and ignominious.

The simple truth is that citizenship is the status of an individual as a member of a state institution.

In the modern state, each individual who is born and lives in a state community or is accepted into it through descent or naturalisation is a citizen.

His status as a citizen — namely the rights, privileges and duties which flow from his citizenship — depends on the laws and institutions of his fatherland.

It is the task of the state to give meaning and content, as well as the possibilities of political, social and economic fulfilment, to the concept of individual citizenship.

# Shield

By no stretch of reason or justice can the state evade that task by categorising or, rather, stigmatising individuals as first or second class citizens, albeit that such categorisation is cloaked in fine-sounding terminology.

In South Africa, the path is clear: all our people must be accepted as citizens.

Only then can we start building a state edifice with legitimate structures and institutions in which persons can live and experience their citizenship as a shield of individual protection and security and not as a constant threat resulting from some or other official stamp of arbitrary classification.

Mr Wiechers, an authority on constitutional and international law, is a professor at the University of South Africa.

## LEVY ON SASOL SCRAPPED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 13 Apr 85 p 7

# [Text]

THE Government has decided not to proceed with its special temporary levy on producers of synthetic

The levy, announced by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend Du Plessis, in his Budget speech on March 18, had been expected to earn the Government an extra R70m in the 1985-86 financial year.

In announcing the pro-posed levy, Mr Du Plessis said synthetic oil-from-coal

producers were in a particularly favourable posi-tion because of the randdollar rate and sharp increases in imported fuel prices.

He believed synthetic fuel producers should be ruel producers should be expected to make a greater financial contribution and proposed a special temporary levy to be imposed on these companies, details of which would be negotiated with the companies and embodied in a formal taxtion proposed to be tabled. ation proposal to be tabled later.

In a statement yester-day, however, Sasol an-nounced the Government had decided not to go ahead with the levy.

The statement said: "Sasol has been authorised to announce that the Government has decided not to proceed with the imple-mentation of the special temporary levy on produc-ers of synthetic fuel as was proposed in the Budget speech."

Sasol spokesmen later refused to comment further

on the statement.

### BRIEFS

MORE SCIENTISTS NEEDED--Scientists are urgently needed if all the people of South Africa are to prosper uninterruptedly, says Professor D. M. Joubert, vice-chancellor and principal of the University of Pretoria. Addressing a graduation ceremony of the faculty of sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand, Prof Joubert said a recent study had confirmed the country was drawing most of its scientists from a small pool--the White male population. "Understandably, if scientists continue to be taken from this limited source, the shortage of trained natural scientists will be perpetuated," he said. The only avenues open therefore were: Recruitment on a larger scale than ever before elsewhere in the world (but recognising its inherent problems); looking more attentively at the White female population group which is already coming noticeably to the fore in science circles; taking earnest cognisance of the considerably bigger but hitherto largely untapped resources of non-Whites. To make effective use of this source "will require very special efforts, but this too should be seen as a challenge...." At the ceremony, 334 degrees and 23 higher degrees were conferred. -- Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Apr 85 p 15]

ANTIRACISM MANIFESTO—Cape Town—The Cape Town Chamber of Commerce has launched a campaign to get more businessmen to sign its manifesto against racial discrimination in the workplace. Mr Philip Krawitz, president of the CTCC, urges members in a letter to sign and "join the ranks of those who seek to identify themselves with the chamber's official standpoint against racial injustice or discrimination of any kind." It invites businessmen to commit themselves to a programme of genuine non-discrimination against their employees. "The chamber believes it is no longer tenable to look only to the Government to bring about the changes that are so clearly necessary."—Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Apr 85 p 12]

INDIAN EDUCATION--For the first time in the history of South Africa the amount spent per Indian pupil for their education will be equal to that spent on Whites. This announcement was made on Monday when Mr Boeti Abramjee, the Indian Minister of the Budget stated that there would be an allocation of R308 million for Indian education. This state of affairs is a far cry from the old days when the Indian Community was called upon to pay half the cost of its children's education (the so-called pound for pound system). Therefore, this is another step forward on the principle of equality. However, the Indian Community can never really celebrate this victory until the same

principles apply to African education. Also segregated and apartheid education must end as well. Another issue of great importance is the question of housing for Indians. An amount of R125 million has been allocated for housing, Local Government and Agriculture. [Text] [Durban THE GRAPHIC in English 29 Mar 85 p 4]

INDIAN TEACHERS' JOBS--Solidarity's shadow Minister of Education, Paliansamy Devan, is determined to save the jobs of hundreds of Indian teachers who are not professionally unqualified. He has proposed a motion in the House of Delegates, calling for the introduction of in-service training for all those teachers who were not properly qualified, especially for those who have the old "licence to teach" and those without matric. The motion is expected to be defeated in the House later this week. Mr Devan said there were about 800 "professionally unqualified" teachers who were to be phased out. This drastic action could be averted if these teachers could be allowed to attend the inservice training so that they were in a position to upgrade their qualification, he said. "At present these teachers run the risk of losing their jobs and my party wants to do everything possible to see to it that this does not happen." Mr Devar believed that there were many among the unqualified who were "professionars" in their respective subjects. [Text] [Durban POST NATAL in English 3-6 Apr 85 p 5]

FLATS FOR 'ILLEGAL' INDIANS--A new R30 million block of flats is to be built in Fordsburg for Indians living illegally in Hillbrow and other white suburbs, says Mr Boeti Abramjee, Minister of Budget in the House of Delegates. The building will have 1,100 flats made up of one, two, and three bedroomed apartments. It will be both a letting scheme and for sale by sectional title, Mr Abramjee disclosed. Scores of Indian families have been issued with ejectment notices--and several others have been either prosecuted or threatened with prosecution--for living in areas reserved for whites. Following top level representation, the notices have been stayed with an assurance that no further action would be taken against offenders until the flats are built. [Text] [Durban POST NATAL in English 3-6 Apr 85 p 1]

WIDESPREAD POLITICAL UNREST--The house of a community councillor in New Crossroads, Cape Town, has been petrol bombed in one of several incidents of widespread unrest. According to police, incidents of violence appeared to have decreased since security forces sealed off eastern Cape townships at the weekend. However, unrest has been reported from wide ranging areas, including north of Pretoria and in Athlone, Cape Town. Police say three young women have been arrested in connection with the petrol bomb attack on the home of community councillor, (John Velezi), in New Crossroads. Another two councillors' homes have been attacked in Bridgetown, near Oudtshoorn, and in New Brighton, in the eastern Cape. The homes of two United Democratic Front, UDF, members have also been damaged in separate incidents in Soweto, Johannesburg, and in New Brighton. Other incidents of political violence have been from KwaThema, near Springs, and in the eastern and Cape townships of Fingoe, De Aar and (Teenus). [Text] [Umtata Capital Radio in English 1300 GMT 7 May 85 MB]

BLACKS NEED FOR LAND--The shortage of land for black urban development on the Witwatersrand is reaching serious proportions. A spokesman for the development boards in the area says that most of the black residential areas have reached their maximum development potential and no new land has been approved for future development. A spokesman for the West Rand Development Board says that by the year 2020 an additional 5,000 hectares will be required for expansion. On the East Rand, estimates are that by the end of the century another two cities the size of Soweto will be needed to satisfy housing requirements. In the Orange-Vaal region, 70 percent of the available land has already been purchased and negotiations for further purchases are in progress. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 4 May 85 MB]

NO COMMENT FROM ANGLO-AMERICAN--Anglo-American is refusing to comment on the possibility of a link between a bomb attack on its offices and its dismissal of thousands of workers. Anglo-American was one of two companies to sack some 17,000 workers at the weekend after their employees took part in what the mining houses called an illegal strike. The other company is Anglo-Vaal, whose offices in Johannesburg were also bombed in the early hours of this morning. Anglo-American official Neville Huxom said the corporation does not want to comment on speculation that the incidents are connected. [Begin Huxom recording] The explosion seems to have been caused by a limpet device and caused damage to the foyer and windows of the building. There was nobody injured. There is a building opposite called Edura House which belongs to Anglo-American Properties and that was also hit by the blast, but damage there appears to be limited to broken glass mainly in the foyer. Some shop windows on the ground floor of the building were also shattered. [End recording] [Text] [Umtata Capital Radio in English 0800 GMT 30 Apr 85]

AIR FORCE SQUADRON DISBANDS—The South African Air Force's 40th Squadron laid up its colors in Verwoerdburg today, as part of the air force's rationalization program for Impala squadrons. The disbanding of the squadron, which was based at Waterkloof Air Force Base, follows the disbanding of 6th Squadron in Port Elizabeth and 5th Squadron in Durban. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg Television Service in English 1400 GMT 29 Apr 85]

UDF, AZAPO PAMPHLETS DISTRIBUTED--Pamphlets in which the United Democratic Front [UDF], and the Azanian People's Organization [AZAPO] severely criticize each other are being distributed in the Witwatersrand-Pretoria area. The pamphlets come in the wake of several clashes in recent months between members of the UDF and those of the black consciousness group, of which AZAPO is a member. In one of the pamphlets, AZAPO accuses the UDF and its affiliates of intimidating and beating up AZAPO supporters, and says there can be no talk anymore of black solidarity and unity. Another pamphlet attacks the Congress of South African Students, COSAS, which is affiliated with the UDF. It calls on black people to reject the gangsterism and the destructive hooliganism of COSAS. In its pamphlet, the UDF accuses AZAPO of underhand tactics and of having no serious program of its own. Black consciousness is described as a racist philosophy which is as unworthy as apartheid. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 1 May 85]

SWAZILAND

QUEEN WARNS DISSIDENTS 'WILL NEVER SUCCEED'

MB290830 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER in English 29 Apr 85 p 1

[Excerpt] Dissidents who are bent on overthrowing the government will never succeed, the Queen Regent Ntombi has assured the nation.

"When the wicked and my enemies came upon me to eat my flesh they stumbled and fell," the Queen Regent said, quoting a verse from Psalm 27.

Speaking during a national prayer service at Lobamba Interdenominational Church, the Queen Regent said if a "dark cloud" of discontent by people opposed to the leadership occurs in the future, the nation should come together in prayer.

However, Prince Mahlalengangeni, who was among the preachers during the national prayer ceremony, said most prophets and priests would like to please by not telling the truth.

"I say this country is not under any dark cloud because if that were so we wouldn't be talking to each other today," he added.

He said by saying this he did not mean to encourage dissidents with evil intentions.

"Those who are responsible for this 'dark cloud' should be called and talked to so that we can avoid the destruction of this country," he said.

Mr Moses Mkoko of Mafutseni, who was among those summoned by the Queen Regent following the prophecy of the dark cloud, called upon the leadership of the country to be united so that dissidents would not penetrate the royal household.

"The nation might be united but if the leadership is not, there is no way we can avoid the tide of wickedness," he said.

SWAZILAND

### BRIEFS

BHEKIMPI WARNING ON 'DISSIDENTS' -- The prime minister, Prince Bhekimpi, has stated that this country will continue to be ruled by a monarch regardless of foreign ideologies being spread by dissidents. Speaking at an Inkhundla meeting at Endzingeni, he said the time the late King Sobhuza died, members of the public lost hope of ever being ruled by a monarch. Prince Bhekimpi said these dissidents claimed in the streets that they were in a position to overthrow the government in order for this country to be ruled by their own ideas. He further warned members of the Endzingeni community that this kingdom was swimming in a pool of problems created by these dissidents who are an opposition to the Queen Regent and her government. He pointed out that these dissidents only operated at night by holding secret meetings with intentions of destroying the country. On food sufficiency, he said this could only be achieved by the Swazi nation by praying in one voice instead of the continuous migration from the rural areas to urban areas in search of white collar jobs which are difficult to find. [Text] [Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 26 Apr 85 pp 1, 32 MB]

HILLARY, DLAMINI OFFICIALLY SACKED--The commissions of two armed forces officers who are serving 60-day detentions and facing high treason charges have now been officially terminated. The termination of Mr Edgar Hillary as deputy commissioner of police is published in the latest government gazette dated April 5 this year. And the removal of Major Abednigo Dlamini from the Umbut fo Swaziland defence force is published in the government gazette dated March 22 this year. The terminations of the two men's commissions has been signed by the Queen Regent Ntombi. [passage omitted] [Excerpt] [MB030938 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 3 May 85 pp 1, 16]

TANZANIA

### BRIEFS

ZANZIBAR-PLO COOPERATION--Zanzibar: the Revolutionary government of Zanzibar and the PLO have signed an agreement whereby the PLO will open a duty free shop and two supermarkets in Zanzibar. The agreement was signed in Zanzibar last Monday by the Zanzibar Minister of Finance, Ndugu Taimur Slaeh on behalf of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar and the PLO Ambassador in Tanzania, Ndugu 'Abd al-'Aziz on behalf of his organization. The duty free shop and the two supermarkets will be opened in the holy month of Ramadan. Most of the goods will be textiles and leather goods as well as other items. The PLO will soon prepare a plan to open health centers. The centers will be opened in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar. According to a PLO spokesman the centers are expected to be opened this year. Already two doctors from the PLO are working in V. I. Lenin Hospital in Zanzibar. [Excerpts] [Zanzibar Domestic Service in Swahili 1600 GMT 2 May 85 EA]

ZIMBABWE

### BRIEFS

KADUNGURE EXHORTS ARMY MEMBERS—The minister of state responsible for defense, Comrade Ernest Kadungure, has urged members of the Zimbabwe National Army, ZNA, to take advantage of courses offered by the army to improve their operational efficiency. He was speaking at a pass—out parade of 71 army officers at the Zimbabwe Military Academy in Gweru today. Comrade Kadungure said newly qualified army officers should impart their skills to their subordinates for the betterment of the army. The 71 officers attended the 15th foundation course and were accompanied by 20 officers, who received their certificates after completing the fourth commanders' course. The aim of the commanders' course is to give a sound theoretical knowledge of classical war tactics, and a [word indistinct] of supporting weapons (?in service) at infantry and subunit level. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 26 Apr 85]

ZVOBGO URGES STIFFER SENTENCES--The government believes that there is no better way of reducing Zimbabwe's crime rate than severe penalties for those convicted. The minister of justice, legal and parliamentary affairs, Comrade Eddison Zvobgo, said longer prison terms should be more effective in reducing crime. He was opening a 1-day conference on corruption, fraud, and theft, yesterday. Citing a recent case of a court clerk who stole more than 80,000 dollars, Comrade Zvobgo said the courts have tended to do more justice to the offender than the victim. The minister said the government believes that rehabilitation should be an addition to the punishment for the offense, not a substitution for it. He said the crime problem facing the country is so serious that the government cannot experiment with new types of reformative principles. However, Comrade Zvobgo said the government is open to any suggestions, which might help to reduce the overall crime rate. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 26 Apr 85]

ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID URGED--A government minister says one of the positive things that came out of the allied victory over Nazism in the Second World War was the creation of conditions favorable for socialist construction. The minister of foreign affairs, Comrade Witness Mangwende, was speaking at a reception marking the 40th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's independence in Harare yesterday. He said it was for this reason that countries in Southern Africa have called upon the entire peace-loving and progressive international

community to be actively involved in the just cause of elimination of apartheid in South Africa will not only be a positive victory, but also a victory for all humanity. On arms control, the minister said the militarization of outer space amounts to a new and dangerous form of expansionism that gravely threatens world peace. Comrade Mangwende said Zimbabwe is of the opinion that arms control talks should not be confined to nuclear powers only but to an international forum such as the United Nations. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 0400 GMT 9 May 85 MB]

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